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WHAT DOES THE WORLD WANT? As we survey the turbulent, restless scene it seems to us that the world needs—and most profoundly wants—intelligence, in high degree; tolerance, of all sorts; fraternity, in increasing measure; peace, in unlimited amount. We are wrong. A bulletin issued by the Department of Commerce on "What the World Wants" tells us that England has a poignant desire for "offals" and the aspirations of Uruguay are for "insecticides" and "clays or mud, facial." Spain does not want relief from her political dictatorship but "soaps in sticks for removing spots on clothing"; Peru asks for "diving suits and equipment." We had supposed that Haiti wanted most of all the return of her independence. Quite otherwise. Her wish is for "fish, salt," while, across the Caribbean, Costa Rica longs not for more abundant life but for "undertakers' supplies and equipment, including caskets." On the other side of the world India, seething with discontent and oppressed by poverty, clamors shrilly for "blue and annealed wire," while China, beset by the Powers without and rebels within, will be satisfied with "chrome kid" and "soda ash, 20 tons." Half a dozen countries, from Canada to South Africa, want "radio sets and parts" and almost as many sigh for "automobiles, low-priced." It is enlightening if not inspiring to learn thus what the world wants. And the disconcerting thought is that perhaps the Department of Commerce is right. How easily is the world satisfied!

WRITES THE LONDON *Daily News* of President Coolidge's speech before the New York Chamber of Commerce: "It is not easy to think of any parallel to the amazing address of President Coolidge except a certain notorious prayer. The author of that prayer also thanked God that he was not as other men and recorded with the same smirking self-satisfaction his financial right-business and his virtuous self-restraint. No rich parvenu can ever have addressed the humblest poor relation in a tone of more offensively oleaginous patronage than this." Which seems to us the most perfect characterization of this sickening utterance of the President, with its glorification of America's ungenerous policy toward Europe, and its toadying to Big Business—toadying softened, of course, by some warnings to Big Business not to get wholly into the trough, Mr. Coolidge thus carrying water on both shoulders in the established manner of presidential politicians. We confess that we do not know whether we are appalled most by the fact that we have a President who could make such a speech or by the fact that the New York Chamber of Commerce stood up and cheered it for five minutes. Our only consolation is that the editorial comments of out-of-town newspapers which we have seen have confined themselves to a rehash of the President's speech and made little effort to glorify what surely cannot be glorified.

THE NAVY continues to furnish the public with exhibitions of that mistaken loyalty to which we referred editorially last week. Thus, the Shenandoah court of inquiry, after hearing Mrs. Lansdowne, the widow of Commander Lansdowne, called Captain Paul Foley, and after hearing his testimony unanimously whitewashed their brother officer and thereby declared Mrs. Lansdowne to have testified mistakenly or falsely. This is a most extraordinary procedure, for this court was constituted not to try Mrs. Lansdowne or Captain Foley but to investigate the Shenandoah accident. Further than that, the court took the amazing step of ousting from its sacred presence Mrs. Lansdowne's lawyer, although it permitted Captain Foley to be represented by counsel. Of course Captain Foley admitted on the stand that he had been to see Mrs. Lansdowne before her testimony and that he had prepared the statement which she emphatically rejected as false but merely out of kind-heartedness in order to make things easy for her. The Shenandoah court emphatically stated that in calling upon this witness before her appearance and coaching her Captain Foley had acted in accord with navy legal procedure. We can only say that if further proof were needed of the character of our court-martial system this would furnish it. How easy it would make the system of justice in our civil courts if custom and prejudice permitted the prosecuting attorney for the State to go to dangerous witnesses before trial and hand them a statement as a kindly aid to them in formulating what they should say!

THE SWEEPING CONCESSIONS made to China by the Peking Conference would seem to indicate that, in spite of the foreigners in China who look with disfavor on any "softening" on the part of the foreign Powers, those

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Powers are beginning to see a light. Touched on the pocket-book nerve they react generously and have yielded without conditions to China's demands for complete tariff autonomy. Thus a dispute which began three-quarters of a century ago, as the informative article in this week's International Relations Section shows, is brought to a just and sensible conclusion. Beginning on January 1, 1929, China is to determine her tariff rates for herself, without foreign interference; the present restrictions on the rates, based on treaties with the various Powers, are to be abolished and a sub-committee has been appointed to settle upon rates for the intervening three years, with the Chinese proposals at the Washington Conference—a tariff rate of 12½ per cent effective—as a basis. In return China is to abolish the likin taxes on goods carried within the borders of China itself. The sub-committees will concern themselves with determining a proper substitute for the likin, with the consolidation of China's debt, with the allotment of funds for constructive undertakings, and with the administrative expenses of the Chinese Government. Without any weapons except economic ones, China has managed to defeat the best-armed nations in the world. This should teach the opponents of disarmament a useful lesson.

ANOTHER FRENCH CABINET has gone down before the baffling problem of national finance. It is not surprising, since Painlevé has run back and forth between the Right and Left, changing his program daily in the effort to attract votes. His situation has, of course, been desperately difficult, but it is hard to believe that any adequate plan for financial reform can be devised which depends for its content upon a continual barter for votes. Perhaps a new election will be necessary to lay the basis for an acceptable measure, though such a course would seem to be more or less futile without a definite, drastic program to put before the voters. "Strong Premier Is Sought," says a newspaper headline. Surely; but where is he? And where is the support for him if found? Must some one rise like Mussolini (say it softly) and insure his power by crushing all opposition? Meanwhile, Italy, having been a good child and signed a debt agreement with the United States, gets the promised sugar plum in the form of a $100,000,000 loan floated by the house of Morgan and a long list of our most elite bankers. The loan returns to Italy twenty times what she will pay the United States in the first year—which latter, incidentally, is only one-sixteenth of our own interest charges on the Italian debt.

THE MOST ILLIBERAL BEHAVIOR, we have noticed, often supplies the elements of a liberal education. The present exclusion of the Countess Karolyi, not to mention the gagging of the Count last year, has provided the American people with a thorough course in the fundamentals of democracy—an educational treat which they show no immediate signs of profiting by. The same variety of back-handed enlightenment is being offered the students of Antioch College by a similar act of illiberality. A well-qualified Negro boy, of good background and high intelligence, has been denied admission to that interesting and ordinarily democratic institution. President Morgan referred the matter of his admission to the student government officers, and that body voted against him—on "grounds of expediency." The boy was then refused entrance, though the future policy of the college is still to be decided. Meanwhile the students talk and think and worry about the matter. The *Blaze*, a non-official student paper, published by a group of lively and independent boys and girls, has opened its few columns to a debate on the subject. Racial characteristics, democratic principles, the value of expediency, the question of coeducation are all discussed; and the supporters of tradition—this time a liberal tradition—are triumphantly quoting the words of the founder of the college, Horace Mann: "Antioch College shall stand always a place where neither sex, color, nor creed shall ever bar young people from an education." The Negro applicant merely by applying for admission to Antioch has provoked almost enough thought and inquiry to recompense him for his lost opportunity if he were interested in becoming a martyr. And next time a Negro tries to enter Antioch we predict that he will be admitted.

WE CANNOT permit Rear Admiral Mark L. Bristol to return to his post in Constantinople as the accredited representative of the United States to the Government of Turkey without a word of appreciation of the extraordinary value of his services to the United States. Selected by President Wilson in 1919 to act as our diplomatic agent in a country with which we still have no treaty to reestablish our relations as affected by the war, he has borne himself with tact, skill, and extraordinary common sense despite the difficulties of his anomalous position. These can be illuminated by recalling that, not being a regularly appointed diplomat, he has never met the extraordinary head of the new republic which promises to make a new and progressive state of ancient Turkey. Meanwhile Admiral Bristol has won golden opinions from Americans and Europeans who have come into contact with him either in Turkey or at the Conference of Lausanne and by his talks to interested groups while on this his first visit to his own country since he was sent to Turkey. *The Nation* is happy to record these facts, first, because it often has to criticize a different type of admiral and, second, because Admiral Bristol is proof that we have the right kind of material for public service abroad if only our executives would look for it without regard to politics or expediency.

ON JUNE 26, LAST, the International Tailoring Company, one of the largest and most powerful of clothing manufacturers, locked out the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in its New York and Chicago shops. The company declared for the open shop and proceeded to hire non-union operators. The union declared a state of war, and proceeded to do everything in its power to frustrate the new arrangement. In the end the union began to pull out foremen—a most harassing measure. For eighteen weeks the struggle continued, relentlessly and bitterly. A few days ago the company, with thousands of dollars' worth of orders on its books and no workers with which to manufacture them, ran up the white flag and capitulated horse, foot, and guns to the union. It has agreed to every provision of the standard union agreement. The winning of this strike means much to the Amalgamated. In beating one of the key employers it has immensely consolidated and strengthened the position of the union. And as a by-product, in that the strike was won by the administration, the left-wing elements in the union, which have been prophesying disaster and collusion with the bosses, are left without that argument. This has made for a much greater measure of internal unity. The fact that locals all over the country have

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been pouring money in to aid the strikers, and that the investment has now proved more than worth while, is also an important element. Watch the Amalgamated. By and large it has the most able generalship of any labor organization in America. Its aim is an efficient industry, elimination of waste, joint control with management—and the highest possible standard of living for the worker.

THE PULLMAN PORTERS, under the leadership of A. Philip Randolph, are organizing. They have the moral backing of the American Federation of Labor, the Railway Brotherhoods, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Pullman Company counters with a trained-seal union and an employee-representation plan. A referendum is being taken in respect to the plan. If 51 per cent of the porters vote for it, the company union becomes the official representative of the men. Mr. Randolph charges that the company is attempting to coerce votes by demanding of a porter whether he has voted before he is assigned to a run. Meanwhile Perry W. Howard, a Negro political leader of the State of Mississippi, late on the legal staff of the Pullman Company, and now special assistant to the United States Department of Justice, has issued a blast against Randolph's organization, seeing, according to tradition, the dread hand of Moscow directing its destinies. Great corporations have used the government to crucify their workers often enough, but seldom with such charming audacity.

WHEN BEAVERS BUILD A TOWN they insure not only their water supply but space, light, and ventilation. New York City has a magnificent water supply, but in all other respects it must bow to the beaver. As witness after witness tells his story before the Commission of Housing and Regional Planning, the accelerating chaos of this—the greatest city in the world—becomes luminously evident. New York has not been built for people to live in, or do business in; it has been built in order to sell real estate by the front foot. The main object has been achieved—even Florida and Los Angeles cannot boast such columns of doubloons per square inch—but in this glorious pageant of paper values it becomes (though it ill behooves a local booster like *The Nation* to admit it) each day increasingly difficult to move, to sleep, to turn around, to breathe. At least so runs the overwhelming preponderance of the testimony before the commission. Mr. Clarence Stein, the chairman, declares that he detects something in the eye of the witnesses that promises concerted action. But it will take us a long time to come abreast of the intelligence of the beaver.

THE CROWNING FASCISTA OUTRAGE has now come to pass. Not content with destroying one newspaper after another, with rigidly censoring those that remain and forbidding them to print any criticism whatever of Fascism and its leaders, Mussolini's organization has now invaded the most sacred of editorial rights—that to accept or refuse manuscripts. With its eye on the votes of contributors, that committee of Fascism which deals with the activities of intellectual workers proposes to take from editors the power to say what articles shall or shall not appear in a daily, weekly, or monthly. Knowing the editor for the dull, unfair, and biased person he is, a Fascist committee composed of persons of "recognized and proved competence" is to pass upon all manuscripts and decide which shall see the light of day. We admit that there are compensations in this; as editors we feel that it would increase our hours for golf and matinees, and yet our blood boils at the thought of our being denied the privilege of attaching our own generously worded rejection slip to the manuscripts we choose to discard. There are some people whose work we reject on sight with savage satisfaction (after making sure that none of the pages are stuck together as a test of the extent of the editor's reading), and others—but we forbear to reveal further editorial secrets. Our mind leaps ahead to the day when Fascism controls America. We can guess the make-up of the committee to accept manuscripts for *The Nation*. It will comprise Elbert H. Gary, Calvin Coolidge, Reed Smoot, Nicholas Murray Butler, and the president of the United States Chamber of Commerce.

GOVERNOR HARTLEY of Washington has just thrown out a challenge to the intelligence of that State. In his message to the extraordinary session of the Legislature he dwells upon the large amount expended by the State on education and the small return. Many caustic and generally true remarks are made on the inefficient manner in which the State institutions have been conducted. The Governor's remedy for the educational situation is, however, remarkable. He would abolish the fixed tax levies for the institutions of higher learning and cut their appropriations. If colleges are inefficient, even with large incomes, why not try what they can do on small incomes? Secondly, he would abolish the separate boards of regents for the different institutions and substitute a single board appointed by the Governor. Because the separate boards have not been sufficiently in touch with the educational needs of their constituents, why not try a single board still more out of touch with them? Finally, he would abolish the "fads and frills," i.e., cultural subjects, in the grades and high schools. If Greek and Latin fail to educate, why not try home economics and stenography?

FIRST EDITIONS are temperamental affairs. To the non-collector a catalogue of these *rarae aves* is hard to understand. Why, for example, should first editions of Mr. Wells and Mr. Shaw never ascend above $4 for one of the former and $15 for the latter, while those of Joseph Conrad, John Masefield, Walter de la Mare, and even John Drinkwater hover near or pass the hundred mark? If $200 is a fair price for a first edition of "Mansfield Park" it seems far too much for one of "The Man of Property." The uninitiated would certainly suppose the former to be the more rare, even assuming that they were quite equal in merit. Austin Dobson brings only $12, George Eliot $20, and a presentation copy of Carlyle's "Past and Present" is offered for $50. Of course the price of a first edition depends upon its rarity; but why should some be given up so cheerfully and some hoarded with such care? A far-seeing person would doubtless lay up for himself treasures for the future; he would buy Mr. Huxley's "Antic Hay" for $4, he would hastily purchase "John Bull's Other Island" for $5, he would cheerfully spend $5 for "A Passage to India." And in twenty-five or fifty years he might have—what? Three rare "firsts," maybe, worth large, fat sums. Or perhaps only three books which together he could not sell for $1.

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The Tariff Happy Family

BEFORE us lies a letter of one of the foremost American bankers interested in international finance which reads in part as follows: "If we insist that the Europeans shall pay their debts to us and yet realize that the only way they can do so is through the medium of goods or services, if at the same time we bar out their goods by our tariff laws and bar out their services by our immigration laws, we set them a pretty difficult task." Many similarly placed financiers hold like views. They are going so far, some of them, as to state privately that they are ready for a tariff for revenue only, if not for free trade. They have loaned enormous sums to Europe and, notably in the case of France, they are beginning to be much worried about their ability to get their money back. Their prestige is deeply involved since they have placed billions of European securities among their customers throughout the United States. Some of them are not only beginning to feel that we have set Europe "a pretty difficult task," but frankly consider it an impossible one.

They are, therefore, out of self-interest, if one pleases, working quietly under the surface for a modification of the whole range of duties, and they must find themselves compelled to admit the correctness of the declaration last week of Representative Cordell Hull of Tennessee that the easy terms granted to Italy in the settlement of her debt are due to the tariff.

"Our existing high tariff," he says, "virtually eliminates the factor of payment in goods of Italy. . . . The United States is now at the crossroads with respect to this entire problem as it relates to the tariff. . . . For several years Republican leaders have pushed up their tariffs and at the same time preached that not a dollar of our foreign debt should be forgiven." He insists that later on this will mean the virtual loss of foreign indebtedness to us.

This attitude brings the bankers into conflict with the protected manufacturers, and for the first time since the era of high tariffs began in America we have a rift in the ranks of those who have cajoled or bought or threatened the government into going into partnership with them in order to insure themselves generous profits. The cleft is going to widen as time passes, for the money we have loaned to Europe is not coming back soon, if at all, and the manufacturers, many of whose establishments are kept alive solely because the government indirectly guarantees prices, are certain to rouse themselves to great efforts to retain the existing status. For this purpose they may be relied upon to use to the fullest extent the shibboleths which they and the bankers invented years ago. Would you have the bread taken out of the mouths of our American workmen? Would you have the war-wrecked countries of Europe, especially our recent enemies, dumping their pauper-made goods in this country? The manufacturers are certain to draw the most touching pictures of what will happen to this country if we lower any tariff by a single cent. Indeed, they may be counted on to point to the situation in the New England cotton industry as a reason for higher, and not lower, tariff taxes. In that case it is Southern and not foreign competition which is rousing the New England mill-owners, but that will not affect the arguments. Speaking for an industry with an investment of more than $500,000,000, which employs 125,000 workers and produces $600,000,000 in goods annually, the Massachusetts mill-owners demand the return of the ten-hour day, the removal of the ban which prevents women working after 6 p. m., and the reinstatement of the double shift. Every argument used by them against Southern competition, such as child labor, longer hours, lower wages, "lenient industrial laws," and geographical advantages, will be used just as stridently when the proposal to lower the tariff is made by the bankers. Would you ruin America to line the pockets of the victims of our bankers who knew what chances they were taking when they sent their capital abroad? This will be the chief query of the manufacturers, whose standards will, one and all, bear the slogan "America first."

But the question of the foreign indebtedness to us, whether incurred by governments or private individuals, is not the only foreign development which is worrying our tariff devotees. In a recent address Secretary Hoover denounced the government control of raw materials abroad as an international menace. "This sort of control of production and price," he said, "exists today in coffee, silk, nitrates, potash, rubber, quinine, iodine, tin, sisal, some dye-stuffs, quicksilver, certain canning extracts, and some other things. To demonstrate that this is not an inconsequential matter requires only the recitation of the fact that we expend annually about $800,000,000 for imports now subject to such control." There you have the typical American attitude. We wish to hog our own markets and we build high-tariff walls in order to keep the other fellow's goods out, and then when the other fellow decides to utilize his monopolies for all that they are worth and to fix high prices we denounce him for his selfishness and his outrageous misapplication of one of the practices of the war when the Allies established a control of raw materials and parceled them out in the amounts and at the prices that they saw fit. Yet Secretary Hoover thinks he is quite justified in rebuking those who seek simply to profit by their natural resources, while he favors letting the owners of our own natural monopolies and resources have their own sweet way with the rest of us Americans, charging us what they see fit and regulating their products as they rig the markets. It is astonishing how the boot pinches when on the other foot!

Still another complication for our happy tariff family is the growing demand of some of our farmers for more and not less protection for their produce. True, some of the farm organizations are beginning to see the folly of this, but if our information is correct the President is merely seeking an excuse not only to keep up the tariffs on agricultural products but to raise them still further, with an eye to decreasing the farmer revolt in the Northwest. The Tariff Commission now plans to send to the President some twenty recommendations in regard to existing tariff rates prior to January 1. Mr. Coolidge will therefore be compelled to show his hand on some of these unless he pigeonholes them all, as he did the commission's recommendation on sugar. Finally, a large delegation from the Pacific Coast has been in Washington for weeks complaining bitterly against the flood of imports at their ports. Uneasy lies the head that wears a tariff crown!

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Saintsbury, Octogenarian

THE London *Times* saluted George Saintsbury on the occasion of his eightieth birthday a few weeks ago with the remark that he must still be a young man because he had always written like one and still continued to write like one. The truth of this remark lies more, perhaps, in its implication that Mr. Saintsbury has never changed than in its attribution to him of all the qualities of youth. For in a sense he was already very old when he began to write reviews a half-century ago for the Manchester *Guardian*. He was old, that is to say, in a fashion not inconsistent with the vigor of fewness of years—he was both a tory and a boy. A recent editorial in the *Guardian*, presumably by one who remembered Mr. Saintsbury in those early days, records among other things that he seemed even at thirty to have read every book in the world and to have heard every idea; and one can be sure that he composed his first paragraph for print with the same appalling sophistication, the same energetic contempt for highfalutin novelty, that has distinguished him from all other British critics during two generations. But whether he has continued to be young or to be old, there can be no doubt that continuance has been his virtue; he has not changed in character, and he has not lost in strength. And what is more of a compliment still, he has not ceased in any degree to keep the respect of the newest literary generation. Few men of letters at eighty are attractive to their thirty-year-old contemporaries, and almost no critic ever is. None in America is now, and on the continent of Europe Georg Brandes is conspicuous because unique in this respect.

"I have never yet given a second-hand opinion of any thing, or book, or person," wrote Mr. Saintsbury in the preface to his "Notes on a Cellar-Book" five years ago. That is one of the reasons why he has continued to be fresh. Another is contained in the following remark from the latest of all his books: "I have never tried to be in the fashion for the sake of being in it, and seldom, I think, to be out of it merely for the sake of being out of it. Logic and history have been the only external guides I have accepted in temporal things, except where pure taste has reigned alone—as for things not temporal one need not speak here." And there must be many more explanations for the fact that the author of "A History of Criticism," "A History of English Prosody," and "The Peace of the Augustans" has known for eighty years how to enjoy a green old age.

It is to be hoped that future historians of English criticism, when they are assigning the various reasons for Mr. Saintsbury's great position, will not neglect to mention one of Mr. Saintsbury's own reasons. Speaking of the wines which he had experienced through a long career devoted in one or another aspect to what he likes to call "the fruit of the tree of knowledge," he said in the "Notes on a Cellar-Book": "When they were good they pleased my senses, cheered my spirits, improved my moral and intellectual powers, besides enabling me to confer the same benefits on other people." Mr. Saintsbury in his later years has revealed himself as a delectable taster and connoisseur of wines no less than of books. Prohibition—threatened in England and accomplished in America—has been his particular torment in a time when there are enough torments for a tory anyway. And he has improved every opportunity to speak his mind upon the matter. It may not be out of place to record that one of Mr. Saintsbury's most interesting observations in this connection is to be found in a foot-note to page 40 of "Notes on a Cellar-Book." This is the foot-note:

> One of the most agreeable incidents of my life in connection with port is quite recent. Soon after I had published something about wine in the *Athenaeum*, and since America "went dry," two students of that misguided country wrote to me saying that they had found it impossible to refrain, after reading the article, from sallying forth, purchasing some so-called port wine (I hope it was not very bad), and drinking my health in it. It would be difficult for a teacher to have a more gratifying testimonial to the efficacy of his teaching; especially when he remembers the boasts of prohibitionists as to bringing on prohibition by sowing pseudo-scientific tarradiddles in United States school-books.

We think we know who these two students were, and we are wondering whether we should hand them over to the executioner.

College Athletics—Play or Work?

A FORMER football player of Harvard University, George Owen, Jr., of the class of 1923, has written an article for the *Independent* of November 7 in which he says:

> It is a crisp Saturday afternoon in October, and we are among the thousands of spectators at an important college football game. "Wouldn't you like to be in there, George?" comes the question from a neighbor. "No, I would not," is the spontaneous reply. In view of the fact that I played college football for four years and was fortunate enough to be a member of winning teams, this may seem a strange answer; but it was the only honest answer I could give.

The writer expresses his belief that a majority of college football players do not enjoy playing the game. The reason is the "terrific grind necessary to keep in the running." He continues:

> You can't play the game and smile both. I well remember a coach who, on finishing a preliminary "fight talk" to a team two hours before it went on the field for an important game, said: "I don't want to see a smile on any one of your faces between now and game time." . . . As a result, the possibility of failure prays so on the mind of the player that his capacity for enjoyment of the game as a game is, in many cases, completely lost. It is only after the season is over that he can look back with any pleasure on what he has been through, and then the degree of pleasure is measured largely by the degree of the team's success.

No one who knows anything about our colleges will question or be surprised at these statements. And they may be extended from football to apply to all branches of what are known as "major athletics." The most interesting thing about so frank a confession, perhaps, is that it should be made by one who is barely off the college campus. That college athletics are beginning to lose some of their glamor for the undergraduates (though not yet for the alumni) seems possible if for no other reason than that a change in fashion is about due—a rising sense of boredom against so artificial and absurd and top-heavy an institution. We note, for instance, an editorial in the *Ohio State Candle* for October in which college athletics receive a merciless keelhauling.

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Of course the argument of Mr. Owen, that college football is more of a grind than a pleasure, is not necessarily a condemnation. Indeed it may be regarded as quite the contrary. Since in most colleges athletics are the chief—possibly the only—means by which a student may attain fame and popularity, competition in them is going to be the most serious purpose of such undergraduates as feel they stand any chance of success. It is fortunate, therefore, that the competition is a "terrific grind"—that it affords the discipline which is a big object of a college course.

It is not the athlete that is so much to be pitied as the nine-out-of-ten college students who can't get on teams and have to content themselves with the mere hurrah of the grandstand. When they come to see that their part in college athletics is the apex of ludicrousness and futility—and that time may be at hand—there is likely to be a change.

Fortunately when the mass of undergraduates sense the absurdity of their athletic worship, the way out is easy. There is no "problem" to it, although timid university trustees often talk as if there were. The abolition of intercollegiate contests, and the substitution of interclass games, would at one puff blow over the whole exaggerated, lopsided, professionalized structure. The officers of most of our colleges don't dare do anything so drastic. But some day the students will.

The Revolt Against Military Training

The object of all military training is to win battles.

The inherent desire to fight and kill must be carefully watched for and encouraged by the instructor.

The principles of sportsmanship and consideration for your opponent have no place in the practical application of this work.

WITH such maxims as these, taken from the prescribed "Manual of Military Training," did the opponents of compulsory training at the College of the City of New York launch their remarkably skilful and energetic campaign against it. The college publication, the *Campus*, took the lead. The whole college was aroused. Although an optimistic dean expressed the opinion that not more than half of the regularly enrolled students would vote on the question of a petition to the trustees for the abolition of compulsory military training, before the end of the second day of balloting over 2,000 out of 3,200 had voted, and the final vote was 2,092 to 345. We are informed that this is the largest total vote which any referendum among the students of the College of the City of New York has ever called out. The interest in the question was obviously intense and the result of the referendum is decisive and immensely encouraging.

What the trustees will do with this petition is another matter. Sidney Mezes, the president, is already on record in favor of continuing compulsory military training. Mr. Mezes will be remembered as the man who marshaled the American experts on peace in behalf of his brother-in-law, Colonel House, when we were preparing to make a peace appropriate to victory in a war to end war. According to one newspaper report he believes that this training in killing is good "both for the health and the patriotism of the students." It must disappoint even his optimism to find that his students have so little appreciation of what is good for them.

As a matter of fact, none of the conventional justifications for compulsory military training in our colleges is intellectually creditable. Military training is by no means the best form of physical exercise. Military discipline demonstrably has not produced that type of self-discipline upon which the best citizenship depends. It is only for propaganda purposes that army officers speak of military instruction as a training for citizenship. When they are candid they admit that its real object is "to win battles." Least of all does the kind of teaching given to our Reserve Officers Training Corps tend to produce the friendly spirit which is essential to international peace. Thus an Iowa student writes: "While I was in military classes I was having nurtured in me distrust of other nations." He went on to quote his officers as having said: "We are getting the dirty end of the stick on the 5-5-3 ratio. Other nations are not disarmed like the United States. Look out for Japan."

Universities and colleges which owe allegiance to the world-wide republic of letters and science are the last places where this sort of teaching should be given—where an element so alien to academic freedom as the typical military mind should be given such large powers over students. It is therefore intensely disappointing to those who look to our institutions of higher learning for intellectual and social leadership to find the average college president the eulogist of a system of compulsory military training which in so far as it is effective is necessarily destructive of the highest ideals of his profession. The tendency of many of our colleges and State universities to make military training compulsory for their students, without any necessity whatsoever in law, is in itself a kind of disloyalty to the deeply rooted American aversion to compulsory military training and service. Whatever the law says, it is compulsory military training and service when a boy anxious for an education can secure it only at the price of at least two years' required work in military courses.

If the attitude of many college and university authorities is disappointing, the increasing spirit of revolt in student bodies is correspondingly heartening. Students of the University of Wisconsin took the lead in the campaign which forced the State legislature to abolish the compulsory feature of military training in that great university. Students in Pomona College persuaded the board of trustees to end compulsory military training in that institution. Last spring students in Howard University and the University of Minnesota made notable protests against compulsory military training. An effective agitation is beginning at Ohio State University and we know not how many others. The University of Missouri, like the College of the City of New York, recently arranged for a student referendum under supervision of the Student Council on the question of compulsory military training. But before the vote was taken the regents unanimously indorsed compulsion and at the request of the president the vote was called off. Influential groups of students, however, are so determined that they are already talking of following the example of the Wisconsin students and carrying the fight to the State legislature. In examples like these—and they are increasing fast—is new ground for confidence in the spirit of youth, new ground for hope that America may be restored to leadership in the pursuit of world peace.

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Giving Europe Another Chance

By J. RAMSAY MacDONALD

London, November 13

CYNICISM is often chosen by old age to smooth its pillow and make its bed comfortable. That does not necessarily mean that age has abandoned the faith of youth; it may only mean that the kind of experience which life affords for those who deal much with men makes them patient and tolerant with human weakness and inclines them to receive what Carlyle regarded as the great and grand verities, certainly not without honor and homage, but with a familiar pat on the back. I confess that the Locarno Pact puts such thoughts into my head.

When it was signed, and still later when it was published, I was in East and Middle Europe, and though moving in places where public men rubbed shoulders and exchanged views, the interest in it was quite secondary. These countries were full of war problems. Indeed, I do not exaggerate very much when I say that the only reason why there was peace in some of the places visited was that the countries had no resources upon which to fight. When in due course my English newspapers came glowing with Locarno, and when even the *Times* tuned its harp up to millennial pitch (an outburst which gave great amusement in a diplomatic circle one night), it was difficult for me to adjust myself to the strange contrast between my environment and my newspapers. Even when correspondents informed me that Locarno was being made in England a purely party triumph and was being used to enable the Government to recover some of its lost prestige and influence, I had to come nearer home before I could appreciate its significance. In the theater where war is most likely to break out and from which it is most likely to spread, Locarno was of remote interest.

What is its real significance regarding the more Western states? One is told that this pact means that Germany is to accept forever the Rhine frontier arrangements imposed upon it by the Treaty of Versailles (just as if France had signed a pact about 1880 binding itself to remove from the Place de la Concorde the statues of the forfeited towns and dream of Alsace-Lorraine no more) and that both countries bind themselves to submit all quarrels to arbitration. Certainly a document with such words upon it looks to be worth something, and as practically every newspaper in Western Europe welcomes it, it is worth something on that ground alone. The newspapers welcome it but not for the same reasons; indeed they differ profoundly in that respect. Public men, like the newspapers, unite in acclaiming it, and quarrel as to the reasons that happen to have brought them together. But we must not be too meticulous on these points. Whoever can get Europe to believe in peace, to believe that it is secure, to believe that it has found a cure for itself, will have done something to give Europe peace, security, and cures. It is really something to get the whole of Western Europe saying with its prayers every morning: "I am good; I am getting better in every way day by day." The document that sets Europe doing that may have as little in it as the proverbial doctor's prescription of *aqua pura*, but it may be of great benefit. The quack cures as well as the doctor. Here genial cynicism comes in, not to destroy faith but to protect it by widening its foundations. The psychological effect of the Locarno compact will give Europe a chance of putting its house further in order. It is true that about half the German population will decline to accept Locarno just as a similar instrument would have failed to get the support of a united France in 1880; it is true that the moral wrong done by some provisions of the Treaty of Versailles will defy all instruments of peace till they are removed; it is true that a quarrel between France and Germany about the Rhine frontiers would not be the direct cause of a European war if such a thing ever comes again; it is true that the arbitration provisions are obscure in relation to the actual processes by which another war would come; it is true that the pact does not touch the really dangerous problems of Europe and has several unlocked back doors through which war can escape to ravage mankind. When that is admitted, and when to that is added that a courageous handling of the European situation would have produced a better and a wider agreement than this, Locarno may be made a historical landmark in the development of our political civilization.

If this is to happen, however, the pact must be approached in the mind of critical and reserved welcome rather than in that of our relieved and thankful government newspapers. We have been too often deceived by these pious appearances and superficial promises of all being well. Locarno does not deal with any immediate cause of European war; it only deals with matters that would be reopened in the event of a European war breaking out; it provides that France and Germany would not fight over their own quarrels, it does not provide that they shall not fight over other peoples'; its declarations are good, but they do not visualize the ways in which Europe will be involved in war. If the good psychological effect of this agreement is allowed to wear off without a removal of the real causes of wars being effected, Europe will look back upon these days with regret and disappointment. Locarno settles none of the real war problems of Europe; it does predispose men's minds to become busy about their settlement.

We may assume that Germany will now join the League of Nations. This will be, so far as substance goes, a security for peace worth a dozen Locarno pacts. Indeed, it seems to me that the diplomacy which would have brought Germany to Geneva and then worked the League of Nations with all its new authority to remove the causes of war and prevent those that remained from becoming effective would have been far sounder than that pursued at Locarno. To divide Germany on what Europe considers to be a great instrument of security by putting into that instrument declarations of good behavior upon matters imposed upon Germany by the fortunes of war is of doubtful wisdom and may well give rise to fears in other parts of Europe that as important political sections in Germany refuse to sanction Locarno the security which it offers has not in reality the moral backing of the nation. This, however, is a matter of judgment, and by wise subsequent handling the grounds for this objection can be removed.

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Suffice it to say that the entry of Germany into the League opens many doors for a day-to-day harmonious cooperation between the nations. That is the main thing to aim at. Here I have in mind among other things the continued existence of the Conference of Allied Ambassadors in Paris and questions arising out of the occupation of the Rhineland and the Saar and the military control in Germany, which Germany can now raise at League of Nations' tables.

The problems of the Middle and the East of Europe are still untouched save in so far as they may be dealt with under the Covenant of the League itself. The solution of some of them—like the treatment of minorities—should be hastened, however. To this, again, the presence of Germany on the Council of the League should contribute greatly. Akin to this is the question whether Germany should receive mandates for colonial responsibilities. Every scientific student of colonial administration knows that Germany was making some fine contributions to the subject. Like the rest of us, it was making some bad mistakes, but nothing it did was worse than what has just happened at Damascus, and its colonial record suffered during the war from stories of the same class as the human fat boiling vats. The world cannot afford that the scientific research work into subjects like tropical disease, which Germans were conducting before the war, should be brought to a sudden end.

Furthermore, behind all problems of national security is the question of disarmament. The reference to this in the Locarno Pact is not satisfactory, though in actual operation it may become so. This has to be pushed ahead with sleepless application so long as the psychology of Locarno lasts. If that goes, the chances of disarmament on any drastic scale go with it. For the moment the political powers are master of the military services and can issue orders to them. If these services are allowed to assume the almost sovereign authority they exercised before the war—when they were creating conditions that made their assistance necessary—no political agreements will stand the pressure of a growing fear and lack of confidence. Now is the moment to drive trust away from armed force on to political wisdom. Let us destroy the altars of the false gods and it will be easier to induce the people to bring their offerings to the altars of the true ones.

In a sentence, the value of Locarno depends upon how the opportunities it presents are used. Of itself, it may indeed mean nothing; if it is regarded as an opportunity of doing work that is substantial and that really removes the causes of war and creates in the world an instrument endowed with unchallengeable moral authority to secure peace, it may mean everything. So, even while one may look upon it with feelings of genial and generous cynicism and in consequence of it philosophize on the strangeness of crowd psychology—the flimsiness of the foundations of hope and fear alike—all that the cynicism may amount to is this, that the most strenuous of well-doers may have to be reminded that the whims and the weaknesses of mass opinion have to be humored, and that the baseless confidences of the crowds may, as a matter of fact, be turned into solid foundations for very substantial structures.

More Power to the Bankers*

By W. Z. RIPLEY

TWO changes in the nature and conduct of corporations, characteristic of the post-war period, have a direct bearing upon the future of private business in its relation to the supervisory or regulating agencies of the state. They are both bound to increase the likelihood of an extension rather than a lessening of the powers and activities of such bodies as the Federal Trade Commission. Fundamental these changes are, inasmuch as they strike at the very taproot of our capitalistic system. For this system is founded upon the theory that the private, as distinct from the common, ownership of property best conduces to the public welfare, because such possession involves the giving of a gage or guaranty by the owner to his fellow-citizens for thrifty, efficient, far-sighted, and public-spirited management thereof. His is the reward if he be successful. And he bears the loss in case of misdirection. Otherwise stated, it is the fundamental principle, interwoven throughout all human relationships, that power and responsibility must ever be yoked together. It is because these two developments directly assail this principle that I hold them to be sinister and of grave public import.

The first of these changes is the divorce of the ownership of property, represented by securities emitted by corporations or trustees, from any direct accountability whatsoever, for its prudent and efficient management. The second change is the wide and ever-accelerating diffusion of a considerable portion of this ownership, represented by stock holdings of employees and of the direct consumers, both of public utility corporations and of private business companies as well. The net result of both changes is the assumption of an absolute control by intermediaries—most commonly bankers, so-called—in place of the former responsibility for direction which, theoretically at least, rested upon the shoulders of the actual owners.

Both these tendencies menace alike the welfare of the private owners themselves and of the working classes; and they put the public interest in the sound and straightforward management of these businesses in jeopardy—not because bankers, as such, are more frail than other people in general but simply because the possession of uncontrolled power is always certain to entail abuse, whereby both innocent and guilty are alike dragged down. The result, therefore, unless present tendencies are taken in hand, will necessarily be the extension of the activity of such bodies as the Federal Trade Commission, acting for the protection of those who have unwittingly made themselves wards of the state in respect of their possessions.

The practical disappearance of the individual and partnership forms of business organization in favor of the corporation took place before the war. Almost a thousand companies are now listed on the New York Stock Exchange alone—163 railroads and 763 other corporations. The pres-

* Address delivered by W. Z. Ripley, professor of political economy at Harvard, at the annual meeting of the Academy of Political Science, New York City, on October 28. Included in the "Proceedings" of the Academy of Political Science, Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York, Volume XI, No. 4.

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ent transformation is merely in respect to the seat of power over their direction. All kinds of private businesses are being bought up by banking houses; and new corporations are being substituted for the old, in order that the purchase price (and more) may be recovered by sale of shares to the general public. But the significant change is that the new stock, thus sold, is entirely bereft of any voting power, except in case of actual or impending bankruptcy. General stockholders, to be sure, have always been inert, delegating most of their powers of election. But, at worst, they might always be stimulated to assert themselves; and, in any event, they all fared alike as respects profits or losses. Under the new style of corporations, such general stockholders are badly deprived of all rights in this direction, and new preferred stocks are sold up to the hilt of the value of the assets, if not beyond. The issues are called preferred stocks. They are really bonds. And, instead, as formerly, of being limited to a half or two-thirds of the tangible assets, no limit is now set, except the powers of absorption of the investing public.

Every kind of business is being swept into this maelstrom. All of our public utilities, except railroads; chain and department stores, foodstuffs, washing machines, refrigerators, confectionery, make-believe silk stockings, toilet and beauty preparations, our daily bread, our cake, and our ice cream—even our home-made pies! Every conceivable article of direct or indirect consumption is covered by the change. The recent Dodge Motors Company is typical. A banking house buys up a private business for, let us say, $146,000,000. This sum and more it recovers by the sale to the public for $160,000,000 of bonds, preferred stock, and 1,500,000 non-voting shares of "Class A" common stock. But not a single one of the 500,000 "Class B" voting common shares is thus sold. The promoters have virtually paid themselves a handsome profit for the assumption of the entire directorial power, having mortgaged the property to the full amount of its original cost, including both assets and capitalized earning power.

Perhaps the baldest case of this sort is that of an artificial silk concern, which thus sold (let us hope?) 598,000 shares of non-voting "Class A" stock, reserving 2,000 of the total 600,000 shares as "Class B" stock carrying *exclusive* voting rights. There is no concealment about it. But who, may we ask, has given a hostage to fortune for honest and economic management of the business? The promoters stand to lose only the amount of their stake—a minus quantity in dollars, leaving aside, of course, the moral obligation. It is the public stockholders who stand to lose their all in case of misdirection. And most of them have parted with any hope of participation in future profits over and above their fixed return: by agreement in the subscription to forfeit all "preemptive" rights in the issue of new stock. How can there be other than a whirlwind of abuse of power under such conditions?

As for the second financial fashion—the wide distribution of stock to employees and to consumers of the corporation's product, whether electric service, steel, or what-not—the effect is bound to be cumulative with that of insinuation of banking power between ownership and operation. Corporations have always been susceptible to control by concentration of voting power. Far less than half of the capital stock may be as effective for such control as possession of an actual majority. But it is elemental, requiring no proof, that the larger the number of shareholders, the more easily may a small concentrated block of minority holders exercise sway over all the rest. With a dozen owners, probably 51 per cent will be necessary for dominance. With 300,000 scattered holdings, a possible 15 or 20 per cent of the votes can never be overmatched at an election. In 1923 there were 250,000 new stockholders registered in the electric light and power companies alone. The total number of stockholders in all sorts of concerns has almost doubled since 1900, rising to an aggregate of 14,423,000 in 1923. These shareholders now possess over $70,000,000,000 worth of stock at par, on the showing of the federal income-tax returns. Such possession used to be confined to the wealthy and the well-to-do class. Now it comprehends the small householder and large numbers of wage-earners. The former concentration of wealth is now yielding place to so wide a diffusion as to call for public recognition by way of legislation or oversight. But the important point to note is that the wider the diffusion of ownership the more readily does effective control run to the intermediaries, in this case promoters, bankers, or management companies.

The foregoing dangerous tendencies are much aggravated, also, by reason of the operation of a number of highly artificial legal devices which serve to isolate still further the property owner from control over his investment. The holding company, voting trusts, trusts set up for the living, the moribund, or the dead, the investment trust, and finally the intervention of the life-insurance companies as investing agents for their policy-holders—each and every one of these has latterly insinuated itself to still further set off ownership from responsibility in management. It is all cumulative—and, in the aggregate, fraught with the gravest possibilities.

Many remedies for undue concentration of power of direction of corporations have been suggested. There is one which stands forth preeminently. Publicity of accounts and their standardization are likely to be most serviceable as a check upon otherwise unrestrained control. These millions of investors and the public, even if they have so confidingly given their possessions over into the care of others, have a right to full and complete unmitigated information. There lies an appropriate function for a rejuvenated and enlarged federal commission to discharge an obligation of the federal government to a great and in many respects a helpless body of our citizens.

Autumn Nocturne

By DAVID MORTON

Listen how low the rain is singing there,
More to itself than any other thing,
For never leaf or blossom, now, will care
What song of all her songs the rain will sing.
For thus the summer world is sung asleep,
Hearing the quiet rainfall on the ground,
Fainter . . . and faint—till slumbers grow too deep
For listening any longer to this sound.
Tomorrow I shall see, as I go by,
How leaf and petal, delicately curled,
Are drowned in sleep and lost to earth and sky,
Where nothing is remembered from the world,
But all things are forgotten that were plain—
Even this last-heard, drowsy sound of rain.

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The Democrats Desert

By FRANK R. KENT

Washington, November 23

BEYOND doubt the outstanding thing about the present political period is the extraordinary swing of the country away from the old attitude of belligerence toward Big Business and its general acceptance of the benevolent belief that the prosperity of the little fellow wholly hinges upon that of the big fellow, that if only the latter is well looked after automatically the former will be cared for and need no special consideration.

While it is not often stated as nakedly as that, political students of all parties and sections are in complete accord as to the truth of the change. Loads of examples could be cited but they are not needed. The dominating presence of Mr. Mellon in the official Cabinet and of Mr. Morrow in the unofficial Cabinet are enough. Ten years ago an open connection, public or private, with either would have put a political blight upon any Administration. Reflections upon the reasons for the about-face of the public in regard to our money kings open up an interesting speculative field, but in the end it all gets back to the basic fact of the general prosperity.

That is the key to the nation-wide political situation. It is the full explanation of why, with the prosperity current still swiftly flowing, it is not possible to interest the people in any issue or question whatever save that of keeping it flowing. Why bother about anything else so long as business keeps up? That is the thoroughly natural and nearly unanimous feeling of the American people.

No better illustration of the strength of this tide need be sought than the present attitude of the Democratic leaders in the House toward the Coolidge-Mellon theory that the way to reduce taxes is to cut those on the big incomes first and most. They have gulped, but swallowed it. Apparently their purpose is to join the Republicans in reporting a revenue bill heavily slashing the maximum surtax and less heavily taxes on smaller incomes. It will be the Mellon bill all right, although astonishing pains, for such righteous people, are being taken to keep it from being called the Mellon bill. For their acquiescence in the feature about which the Administration is particularly concerned, namely, the cutting of the 40 per cent surtax, the Democrats on the Ways and Means Committee are cordially praised by one section of the daily press, while grudgingly given credit by another for the sense to cease opposing the tax program of the great and good Mr. Coolidge.

As a matter of fact, they deserve no credit—these Democrats. Whether the Mellon theory with which the country has been so completely saturated is right or wrong—and there are certainly two sides to it—in their hearts these Democrats do not believe either in it or in the Coolidge-Mellon-Republican doctrine that the little fellow is bound to be all right if the big fellow gets what he wants first. They would not be Democrats if they did not hate that doctrine. That is a Republican, not a Democratic idea.

It is the little fellow who has always been the particular care of the Democrats. They have in the past always championed his cause. It is true they never did much for him, but still they were his consistent advocates. It was the big fellow to whom the Republicans cottoned, the business interests which they championed. This line of cleavage between the parties was deeper than that of the tariff or any other issue. It was the real difference between them.

Now we find the House Democrats swung completely around to the Republican view and as eager as their opponents to batter down the surtax on the big incomes. It is not, however, a matter of conviction with them—it's merely a matter of cowardice. It is not the Democrats who have changed on the country but the country that has changed on the Democrats. The crumbs from the prosperity banquet table at which for nearly four years the big fellows have been gorging are so numerous, succulent, and satisfying to the little fellow that all his old truculence toward the "interests" has evaporated. The great gratification of getting a share of the easy money of the period makes it impossible to divert him from the effort to make his share as large as possible or get him excited because somebody is getting very much more. If he were not getting his he could be more easily stirred to wrath at the inequality of things. As it is, he has no time to reflect on that.

Then, too, the newspapers and periodicals upon which the millions intellectually feed, and which formerly preached that the big corporations and very rich men were powerful enough to protect themselves and it was the average citizen who needed help, have, since the first Mellon bill two years ago, strongly taken the other tack, and now with curious and significant unanimity hold that the tax burden must be lightened first on the very wealthy in order that the very poor may prosper.

The extent to which the country is soaked with this idea is practically unprecedented. It is too much for the House Democrats. They have thrown their hands in the air and given up. Disbelieving in the theory, disputing the soundness of the two main Mellon arguments, first, that reduction in the surtax will release more capital for industry and, second, that it will induce rich men to transfer their fortunes from the tax-exempt to the taxable securities; believing, as some of them do not hesitate to say, that it is a backward social step, they have agreed to it, they privately concede, because of the impossibility of getting any sort of real backing for a fight for what should be the natural Democratic view. Back in their districts the influential newspapers and important Babbitt Democrats, as well as Republicans, are all for the Mellon idea. It isn't in these House Democrats to continue to stand against that sort of sentiment. As a matter of fact, it is too much to expect of them. Said one of the best of the lot the other day: "What's the use? The party in power is bound to get the credit for the reduction and if we fight the bill because the principle is bad all we get is hell for standing in the way. Every newspaper and every bank director is for the surtax cut. Nobody is going to stop and reason the thing out. The propaganda is too overwhelming. We can't get backing for a fight and it's bad politics to make it. The thing for us to do is get this taxation business over as quickly as possible and take up something else."

The at least temporary political expedience of this can hardly be questioned, but no claim that it is high-minded

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has yet been made. It is, however, in the Senate the real test will come. What the House does in these matters is more often than not entirely negligible. At the other end of the Capitol are a number of fairly determined men who believe the right way to reduce taxes is from the bottom up, not from the top down, and who have been neither sufficiently gullible nor sufficiently craven to fall for a propaganda more powerful and persistent than has been concentrated upon any other single legislative step in this generation. There will be a fight over there.

Anthracite Country

II. The Town

By ANNE HARD

"FOREIGNERS"—whose names for one another are as bewilderingly unlike the ethnographer's categories as these black rivers are unlike the silver streams of New England or the tawny streams of the South. These dwellers in "the patch" are not always as destitute as you would guess from a cursory glance at their paintless houses, their tumble of shed and fence. They draw themselves into a stove-warmed room when the wind whistles coldly across these mountains. They live under the slight shade when the untempered summer sun blisters the blackened hills and reflects from the ovens of the culm heaps and piles of slaty refuse. They extract some comfort from circumstances in their own way. But they tuck their money into savings.

When they first came here — when they first were fetched here in their hundreds, unbelievably innocent of American things, they got no interest on their savings. Instead, they paid the banks to keep those savings safe for them. Those days—like many other matters of the anthracite country—are over. Now those savings lie in the banks of Scranton and Wilkes-Barre and Hazleton untouched and with their interest accumulating upon their heads.

"Do you know who we like to see come into our store to buy?" said the wife of a local hardware dealer in a certain mining town. "Not the Americans. No. The 'Slavish.' An American woman comes in with a fine coat, buys a cheap dish-pan, and pays part down. The 'Slavish' woman comes in—maybe with a shawl over her head, asks which is the very best dish-pan we have, takes out a fat wad, and pays cash."

It is some miles of tangled roads, a trolley trip or a spin in a car to the next "step up" from the patch. In the patch, foreigners and their old ways. In the mining towns—in Pottsville, in Hazleton, in Mahanoy City, in McAdoo, Shenandoah, and Shamokin—they are becoming "Americanized." The greatest local excitement in McAdoo —no one knows who named it; it has some hundreds of bleak frame houses up and down half-paved streets and about a dozen churches, sharp-spired and onion-domed against the sky—in McAdoo the greatest local excitement after eight weeks of the strike was a "Charleston" competition. They talked about the strike but they grew voluble about the merits of Mr. Wida against Miss Parsnik as exponents of the "Charleston."

Hazleton is a mining town. It is said 80 per cent of it depends upon the mining industry, although there are some other interests there. I choose to speak of it as an example of that next "step up." How fast it may be made! "Gift shops" with just the same things you may find in Connecticut Avenue in Washington, or Michigan Boulevard in Chicago, or the forties, say, in New York. Book and stationery shops—"We have the best class of traveling salesmen," they said, "Carter's ink, Dennison—all the best." Fur shop showing squirrel and the latest narrow-striped muskrats and fox. High-heeled, dainty, brilliant-buckled shoes, gowns of ivory or flame-colored georgette, smart hats with matching patterned scarfs in the windows. "These girls think nothing of coming in here and buying a hundred and fifty dollar coat-suit," a merchant said. A big new hotel lined with creamy stone, with softly-toned woodwork, mezzanine lounge in rich blues, nice prints, ballroom with its crystal, banquet room and perfect service. There meet the Rotary and Kiwanis. On Armistice Day the Legion turned out from its headquarters across the way, headed by two large bands, very effective in their white and blue capes. They were the bands of the two local high schools. One of these schools alone has about 1,200 students.

Hazleton is unique among the anthracite cities. Shenandoah, Mahanoy City are less beautiful, more crowded, more "foreign." But it is nevertheless a coal city. Its population is of the mines. And therefore, away from that street of shops, with its theaters—also crowded after eight weeks of the strike—lead narrow, undistinguished streets of "homes." Little houses, postage-stamps of houses, with heavily upholstered "suites" crowding the most expensive kind of radio sets, a dining-room constantly wearing its white cloth over the table, line these streets.

You do not see expensive goods by the yard in the shops. You seldom see a sewing-machine in the houses. But the young lady of the house will be wearing the newest of frocks, the gayest of sport stockings. It is America!

The furs are not sables or ermine, but they are furs. The cars in the street are not Rolls-Royce and Pierce, but they are cars.

It is interesting to speculate upon the operators' point of view when the question of wage negotiations arises, familiar as they are with this background. But should we or would we have it otherwise if we could? Is it our determination that "Americanization" shall be confined to courses in our schools, or shall it be a thing of its own growth, producing extravagant blossoms of a not altogether lovely kind at first, perhaps, but eventually by its own mistakes flowering into something really fine? Anyway, we cannot stop it. It is imitative of what it sees and quickly so.

The most bewildered—and therefore the hardest to deal with—of operators and of superintendents are those who are most benevolent. A few of the coal families keep old homesteads near the mines and live in them occasionally. In spite of the new ways these families preserve their somewhat feudal point of view about their men, and the men still have, in those few cases, a little of the feudal allegiance somewhere deep down in their sympathies. One of these families once built a road many miles long across a certain ridge, where the grandmamma of the present owner and her sister and her friends would drive in their carriage and pair. It was a very convenient road, linking two excellent patches of rabbit-country without a detour of some miles for the foot-farer and the men used to like to short-cut by it. Every now and then one of them would be thrown off or perhaps even arrested for "trespass." Now it is a public road, frequently used. It is a symbol.

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Article 13

By JAMES N. ROSENBERG

AIRPLANES, submarines, dreadnoughts; Big Berthas, tanks, poison gases. With such damnable contraptions have the confounded scientists spoiled man's supreme sport—the thrilling, the 100 per cent patriotic, soul-stirring, glorious game of war. They have ruined war because they have made it so expensive a luxury that you lose even if you win. Witness the lean pocket-books of France, Italy, even England.

Horatio at the Bridge; Washington Crossing the Delaware; Gettysburg, Thermopylae, Richard Coeur de Lion; Don't Shoot, Boys, Till You See the Whites of Their Eyes. Is it possible that a machine-run world is to substitute for such splendors the tiresome decisions of a dull World Court?

But let us not despair. The World Court is perhaps not so toothless an affair as may be supposed. There is the nice question of enforcing the court's decisions. In the answer to that query there still resides a hope for something more vivid than the deadly arguments of prolix lawyers in a sleepy courtroom.

I have before me an essay by Professor Manley O. Hudson, Bemis Professor of International Law in the Harvard Law School, in which the professor, arguing for the existing World Court, attempts to demolish Senator Borah. But does he succeed? Discussing the World Court as now existing and functioning, he writes:

> The World Court is related to the League only in that (1) the expenses of both are paid out of a common budget; (2) the judges are elected by the Assembly and Council of the League; and (3) the court may give advisory opinions when requested by the Council or Assembly.

Is that statement of his quite complete? Is not the court a closer relative of the League than his statement indicates? Is not the World Court established pursuant to the Covenant of the League of Nations? If so, how about Article 13? The pertinent parts of that article declare:

> The members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement . . . they will submit the whole subject matter to arbitration or judicial settlement.

So far, so good, if jurisdiction is made dependent upon acquiescence of sovereign states. But the able gentlemen who drafted the Covenant did not stop there. Some of them, at least, were practical statesmen. What would be the good of a court with power to decide if there is no power to enforce? This was evidently in the minds of some of the draftsmen of the Covenant.

Hence Article 13 has something to say on this subject of enforcement:

> The members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award or decision that may be rendered and *that they will not resort to war against a member of the League which complies therewith.*

The italics are mine. Since the members agree that they will not resort to war against a complying member, what will they do to a member who does not comply with the decision? Make war? What other implication can reasonably be gathered from the words? But if it be needed to make the matter clearer, let me quote the last sentence of Article 13:

> In the event of any failure to carry out such an award or decision the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

Does this mean that the Council shall have power to cause the League members to make war against the non-complying member? If not, what does it mean? What does that word "steps" mean? And how about the word "failure"? The language is "in the event of any *failure*, etc.," not "in the event of any *refusal*, etc." Suppose a nation fails to comply with a decision solely because it is financially or physically unable to do so. Is the Council nevertheless to have the power of life and death over that nation?

But the matter does not end here. Article 16 declares:

> Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13, or 15, it shall ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking state, and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking state and the nationals of any other state, whether a member of the League or not.

Thus it appears that the whole power of the League and of every League member is invoked against any nation which resorts to war in violation of Article 13; and since the World Court is created to carry out the provisions of that article, I take the liberty of asking Professor Hudson whether his statement quoted above is quite complete.

The fact seems to me to be that the World Court is not only joined with the Covenant like a Siamese twin but is backed by the whole power of the League and its members.

What of it, you may ask? Just this. Ordinary courts have sheriffs and marshals attached to them to levy judgments, execute warrants of arrest and dispossess, writs of replevin, etc. But when you come to a World Court, your sheriff—if there is to be one—is an army; and if Article 13 means what plain words indicate, the army behind the World Court would be one ordered into the field by the Council of the League.

Again what of it? You may ask whether a court having power to decide but none to enforce is worth the bother of bringing it into being. Would such an emasculated court be of any use? But that's another story, a story which will appear in *The Nation* next week. Meantime, I, who am an enthusiast for a world court—a court of justice, backed not by arms but only by acquiescence and a decent respect for the opinion of mankind, ask the champions of the existing court as now constituted and functioning to tell us whether Article 13 means what I have gathered from its words.

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In the Driftway

THE Drifter has a hard time keeping up with his colleagues on *The Nation*. He disagrees with them so often and so thoroughly that sometimes a statement of theirs gets by him because he is too busy contradicting what they have said the week before. For example, there was the misguided opinion, advanced a month or two ago, that "slush" in journalism was a new departure, that it was unknown in the good old days. As proof of the contrary, he is glad to offer the following, which appeared in a Dublin paper of May 30, 1784, a description of the first appearance on the Dublin stage of that pearl of womanhood, Mrs. Siddons:

> From the repeated panegyrics in the impartial London newspapers, we were taught to expect the sight of a heavenly angel; but how were we supernaturally surprised into the most awful joy at beholding a mortal goddess! The house was crowded with hundreds more than it could hold—with thousands of admiring spectators that went away without a sight. This extraordinary phenomenon of tragic excellence! This star of Melpomene! This comet of the stage! This sun of the firmament of the Muses! This moon of blank verse! This empress of the pistol and dagger! This chaos of Shakespeare! This world of weeping clouds! This Juno of commanding aspects! This Terpsichore of the curtains and scenes! This Proserpine of fire and earthquake! This Katterfelto of wonders exceeded expectation, went beyond belief, and soared above all the natural powers of description! She was nature itself! She was the most exquisite work of art! She was the very daisy, primrose, tuberose, sweetbriar, furze-blossom, gilliflower, wallflower, cauliflower, auricula, and rosemary! In short, she was the bouquet of Parnassus. Where expectation was raised so high it was thought she would be injured by her appearance; but it was the audience who was injured; several fainted before the curtain drew up!

* * * * *

ONE gathers that it was an unusual occasion, to say the least. Evidently we have no such actresses nowadays, or if we have, our audiences are more calloused, for the Drifter avows that in all his long life he has never seen such a scene as is further described in the Dublin reporter's lyric burst:

> When she came to the scene of parting with her wedding ring, ah! what a sight was there. . . . One hundred and nine ladies fainted, forty-six went into fits, and ninety-five had string hysterics! The world will scarcely credit the truth when they are told that fourteen children, five old women, one hundred tailors, and six common councilmen were actually drowned in the inundation of tears that flowed from the galleries, the slips, and the boxes to increase the briny pond in the pit. The water was three feet deep and the people were obliged to stand upon the benches and in that position were up to the ankles in tears. An Act of Parliament against her playing any more will certainly pass!

* * * * *

THE Drifter challenges his colleague to produce any example of modern newspaper hyperbole to compare with this. But lest it be said that this, after all, was only mock-serious, he is glad to quote from the Washington *Capital's* story of the assassination of President Garfield. Here was no room for burlesque, but a most solemn occasion.

> The late Czar, when fired at before the Nihilist bomb blew him into eternity, shrieked and fainted with terror. The phlegmatic Emperor of Germany never recovered the shock of a slight wound from birdshot fired so far off that it would scarcely have killed a reed-bird. But the President of the American republic, with a bullet as large as that of a Remington rifle tearing through his vitals, sets his teeth without a shudder and says: "I'll chance and I'll win!" and softening his face into the sweetness of a lover's smile, whispers to his dear wife as she kneels beside him: "Sweetheart, have no fear; I'll pull through!" Such heroism, such manhood, cause the blood to surge in the heart of every American!

* * * * *

TODAY this sort of thing simply does not happen. We have our own type of "slush," but nothing so soul-compelling or heart-wringing as this. There are times when even the Drifter believes that the world is moving in the right direction.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

America, the League, and Syria

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your statement in *The Nation* of November 4 that "if the League measured up to its job it would order France out of Syria at once" seems to me to mistake entirely the nature of the League itself. The League is not a super-state. It is not a political entity. It is not a power in itself. It is simply a method of doing business. It is a machinery for co-operation between fifty-five governments of the world. Now, if you say that these fifty-five governments should order France out of Syria, your proposition becomes a very different one. The fifty-five only act unanimously in using the machinery which we call the League. The fifty-four have not been given power to order the fifty-fifth out. Few of the fifty-five governments feel special responsibility with reference to Syria. Most of them feel about it much as our government does.

But you will say that Syria is under a League mandate. You are obviously forgetting recent history when you say that "the League gave the mandate to France." It was the Allied and Associated Powers which allocated Syria to France, though the Council of the League of Nations approved the mandate. The United States participated in the allocation. American armies helped in the victory which made it possible. An American President took part in the decision.

But fifty-five governments, not including that of the United States, are maintaining a method of getting regular accounting with reference to these mandated territories. The Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations was meeting in Geneva last week. It received petitions from Syria and at once asked France for a report concerning them. It will hold a special meeting in February to consider France's report. The meeting will air the facts and give world opinion a rallying point, at any rate. Meanwhile, what share of responsibility is the United States taking? And one reason why it takes none is that *The Nation* has grasped every opportunity to attack this cooperative method of handling international affairs.

You speak of "the men who see in the League the panacea for the world's ills." I do not know any practical people who take such a view. Of course there are a few enthusiasts who misrepresent the League, precisely as there are critics who constantly misrepresent it. But why do you allow yourself to flare at the extremists? Why not see the League of Nations as it is: namely, a machinery, a method of taking common counsel about common interests—not a new political being but a new symbol of cooperation? Of course the League as a method will not always be used in cases of international difficulties. Of course

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it will not be used as frequently as you and I should like to have it used. We even dislike at times the action of the Congress of the United States. You admit that the League method was usefully employed in the Greek-Bulgarian case. Why not welcome the method for the possibility of its use in some cases where fifty-five states are willing to use it? In other cases, why not blame the governments of the world rather than the method which they do not use? And in blaming them, don't forget your own government, which almost never uses this method, partly because you object to its doing so.

The difficulty with *The Nation* seems to me to be that it has allowed the League to be greatly oversold to it. You expect the impossible. Why not see it as it is? And if you would, I think your criticism should first be leveled against the attitude of the Government of the United States, which in common with fifty-four governments that are in the League of Nations is not proposing to throw France out of Syria.

Cambridge, Mass., November 4 MANLEY O. HUDSON

Capital Punishment

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of October 21 I read: "A total of 288 murders in 279 days in Cook County would seem to indicate that as a deterrent capital punishment was somewhat lacking." Now, according to recent statistics, out of 180 murders there in 1924, *only one accused has been hanged.* Some perverse people will think that what is needed in Chicago is a few hangings. From Cleveland comes the following: "There were 205 murders in the last three years, but *only two persons were sentenced to death,* and their cases are still pending." One would hardly say that in these two great cities, which are fairly typical, capital punishment exists.

As is well known, the number of murders in all England, a vast scene of hunger and unemployment, falls far below that of any great American city. Those obstinate English almost invariably hang the accused. In Canada, notwithstanding its "wild west," murders are extremely rare. There too a bad habit of hanging. And so in Australia and New Zealand, with all their wildernesses.

The fault, it is said, is in society. Yes, but in several respects. Society has in this country been too lenient. During my lifetime I have seen one law after another passed to make ruffians more comfortable in prison and to soften or shorten their punishment—the parole laws, the indeterminate sentence, the improvement of prisons, and the showering of pardons, while European governments have remained as stern as ever—yet the number of violent crimes among us has not diminished. Signor Ferri is cited. Now, in Latin countries the bulk of murders are from emotional causes, and I am one of those who believe that in this country, also, it is useless to pass death statutes against such as murder out of passion. What I believe can be and must be enforced is the death penalty against those who murder to get money, a class increasing with terrible rapidity. In Italy it will be noticed that when they had to deal with just that class, they put them to death. When the Italian Government finally decided to break up the Mafia, they used rough methods, and crimes of this class of criminals disappeared.

It will be noticed that in Northern Europe the street and house bandit is practically unknown. Why? Over there his business does not pay. Here it does. When I was a boy the bandit was practically unknown in the Eastern States. Why has he multiplied so terribly? In America his business pays.

What is going on in our country now is a guerrilla warfare against society by bandits. Surely few people would deny the right of our soldiery or police to shoot into thugs and kill them if they came in an army, bent upon assault, murder, and robbery. Yet what we have to face in this country is about the same thing. The thugs do not come upon us in armies but as guerrillas or snipers. The chances today of any extreme penalty are very small, and these rascals know it. When they are hanged after crimes, as in Canada, England, and Northern Europe, they at least content themselves with larceny and leave us our lives.

Wilful persons commit crimes for money when they see that the worst penalty is a short term in a comfortable prison, besides a good chance of not being punished at all and a still better chance of being speedily released from prison by weeping ladies and gentlemen who have not yet been shot.

Those who, because hanging does not deter some kinds of murderers, think it deters none defy common sense. They resemble those who still deny that vaccination ever arrested smallpox.

Seattle, Washington, October 28 FREDERICK BAUSMAN

From "Kiver to Kiver"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: There is only one thing a university student should do with *The Nation,* read it from "kiver" to "kiver." It pays.

In the last year I have read it entire, except Bertrand Russell on relativity and the articles on China. Now I'm hunting up my old copies of *The Nation* for supplementary reading on relativity for a philosophy class and to write a paper on the Chinese situation for a course in Oriental politics.

Those who neglect *The Nation* neglect a valuable source of pertinent information.

Iowa City, Iowa, October 10 O. F. GRAHAME

Can Any One Help Her?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Will you be good enough to tell me something that I can use in the opening exercises of my third-grade class, in place of the salute to the flag?

Almost all the pupils in the room are children of overworked, underpaid laborers, and I feel not only guilty but ridiculous at hearing the pathetic daily repetition: "One nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

I am twenty-one years old and very ignorant.

———, *Illinois, October 21* H. F. M.

Contributors to This Issue

RAMSAY MACDONALD, the first Labor Prime Minister of England, writes frequently for *The Nation.*

WILLIAM Z. RIPLEY is professor of political economy at Harvard University.

DAVID MORTON'S latest volume of verse is called "Harvest."

FRANK R. KENT, vice-president of the Baltimore *Sun,* is sending *The Nation* biweekly letters from Washington.

ANNE HARD'S first article from the coal district appeared in last week's *Nation.*

JAMES N. ROSENBERG is a New York lawyer who has written on the subject of the World Court for the *Columbia Law Review.*

HELENE MULLINS has a book-shop in New York City.

ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER is professor of English history at Columbia University.

BENJAMIN STOLBERG wrote The Predicament of American Labor, in *The Nation* for September 30.

LULA MERRICK is assistant editor of *Art News.*

PING-TSANG CHEN is secretary of the Chinese Students' Alliance and Sterling scholar in political science at Yale University.

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Books, Art, Plays

Deirdre

By HELENE MULLINS

I have not heard a lovelier tale than this:
How once Queen Deirdre, cruelly betrayed,
Turned from her lover's tender lips to kiss
The lips of death, and how on her was laid
The earth's dark quilt, who should have slept beneath
Delicate laces nuns went blind to make;
And none brought praise to her, nor queenly wreath,
But tears or curses, for her lover's sake.

This is a tale that poets love to tell
When they are drunk with beauty; and I go
Among the wise men who have loved her well,
And learn from them the sad strange things they know;
Learn of the tall young lover and the king
Who hated him, and of the haughty way
In which Queen Deirdre died, and everything
Is beautiful and gracious that they say.

First Glance

CHINESE drama in one form or another is something like four thousand years old, but there is no history of it either in China or elsewhere. For his volume on "The Chinese Theater" (Little, Brown: $7.50) Mr. A. E. Zucker consequently was forced to rely upon scattered articles and books, and it may be said to his credit that he remains under no illusion as to the completeness of his record. There are inevitable gaps in it—gaps which Mr. Zucker hopes that he will inspire someone to fill. Yet it is both an informing and an amusing record, and certain circumstances combine to make Mr. Zucker's book one of distinct value for the American audience to which he has addressed it. Mr. Zucker was familiar with the Peking theater over a period of five years, during which time he took notes, interviewed actors, playwrights, and critics, and in general applied himself to an art for which he had already an affection. A student of comparative European literature, he was better equipped than most visitors in China to decide what was unique about her drama and what about it had interesting analogues in the drama of the West. More important still, he had a sense of humor and an eye for the genuinely picturesque; it is these qualities, joined with a pleasant if respectful curiosity, which make "The Chinese Theater" on the whole so satisfactory. Mr. Zucker has connected and explained the stray morsels of fact which had been the food of our understanding until now. He has pried behind the strangest of the conventions and demonstrated that after all they are not so strange; or if some of them do indeed happen to be strange he has given us the full color of their charm. It is his distinction in general to have brought a distant subject close.

The chief reason for Mr. Zucker's success in this latter direction is his conviction, decidedly borne out by the evidence which everywhere he presents, that the Chinese theater is China in a nutshell—it is in China herself, apparently, that Mr. Zucker finds himself most interested. Between the walls of a Peking or a Shanghai playhouse, he points out, we can become acquainted with "the old legends of the nation, the famous novels read by the masses, intrigues such as occur on every hand, the music of the various provinces, and the moral ideals of the four hundred millions in general. . . . We see the corruption of officials, the callousness toward suffering, the selfishness of parents, the eagerness for compromise, and the lack of physical or moral courage; on the other hand, we see the polite civilization with its long tradition, the respect for the past and for learning, the love of poetry and art, the general kindliness and honesty of the people, the love of humor, the extreme democracy in social relations, and the reasonableness and lack of fanaticism." These happen also to be my own concerns. So that while I am grateful to Mr. Zucker for his sketch of Chinese dramatic history, for his expert summaries of certain famous plays, for his elucidation of the conventions, for his interview with Mei Lan-fang, China's greatest actor, for his account of the laborious discipline to which all actors are submitted, and for his remarks upon the new Europeanized drama, I am particularly indebted to him for the clearest picture I have ever been given of a Chinese institution in the flesh. This is the theater itself as he describes it—noise, dirt, cold, and all—in the first few pages of his sixth chapter. There is as much beauty in these pages as there is in the paintings on silk which adorn other sections of the book; and there is quite as much China, I suspect, as is to be found in libraries of official reports.

MARK VAN DOREN

The Industrial Revolution Reconsidered

Industrial Society in England Towards the End of the Eighteenth Century. By Witt Bowden. The Macmillan Company. $3.50.

IN this lucid and scholarly monograph Mr. Bowden makes important contributions to our knowledge of the beginnings of modern industrialism. The period to which he has given intensive study is that in which machine technique established itself in the leading industries of England and demonstrated its competitive superiority to older systems of industrial production—approximately the three decades following 1760. As the title of the book indicates, it is with the social, not the technical, aspects of the Industrial Revolution that the author is concerned, with the social factors behind the changes in industrial processes and with the social readjustments that followed those changes, not with the new technique itself. Diligent researches in a wide range of sources, some results of which Mr. Bowden has published previously, have enabled him to throw new light upon many phases of the profound economic and social transformations in which contemporary civilization has its origin.

After presenting impressive evidences of the spirit of mechanical invention which characterized English society in the latter decades of the eighteenth century, the author passes in review a number of conditions that have been regarded as causes of the inventions. Many circumstances, he concludes, were favorable for mechanical improvements.

But the "determining factor" was "the opportunity for the profitable use of mechanical inventions." This opportunity was afforded by the extraordinary demand for commodities, and he thinks that it was "in respect to the demand for English goods that the eighteenth century differed most radically from earlier periods." Behind every historical event or movement there is always, of course, a complex of antecedents that may have been influential in causing it, but the student of history would do well to recognize the fact that there is no means of ascertain-

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ing which of these antecedents had a determining influence. We cannot reset the stage of history, call back the actors and repeat the performance, eliminating one antecedent after another and recording the differences in the outcome; which comes to saying that history is not and cannot be made an exact science. It cannot be established that Mr. Bowden's "determining factor" was in reality a *causa causans;* it should be presented merely as one element in his "complex of forces."

Study of primary sources has led the author to a number of conclusions at variance with opinions that have been more or less generally accepted. One of these opinions is that contemporaries were unconscious of the economic transformation which accompanied the use of the new machines. Devotees of "pure" literature do seem to have been amazingly blind to what was going on in the vulgar realm of work, but outside of this chaste circle many writers, Mr. Bowden shows, were aware of the momentous character of the economic changes, which they characterized as "extraordinary," "astonishing," "almost miraculous," and "unparalleled in the annals of the world." It is clear that to many contemporaries they seemed revolutionary. Most rapid and most astonishing to observers was the transformation in the cotton industry.

In its beginnings, during the period under consideration, the new industrialism exhibited most of its later characteristics. The early English free-trade movement of the late eighteenth century has generally been regarded as a product of economic theory rather than of economic interests and in this respect different from that of the later Manchester school. Mr. Bowden takes sharp issue with this view and gives evidence to show that the manufacturers of the eighteenth century who had adopted the new machine technique were the true fathers of free trade. According to Adam Smith the manufacturers of his day were dominated by the spirit of monopoly and protectionism, but the author shows that he failed to take account of the transformation already in progress which was turning the new manufacturers into champions of free trade. On this point, however, some of Adam Smith's contemporaries showed more insight than he did, and attributed to the new manufacturers an attitude toward commerce practically identical with that of the great industrialists of the days of Cobden and Bright. The former, in their desire for cheap raw materials and for a lowering of English import duties as a means of enlarging their foreign markets, as well as in their attacks on the Corn Laws and the Navigation Laws, clearly foreshadow the Manchester school. The Anglo-French commercial treaty of 1786, the first step taken by Great Britain in the direction of free trade, was regarded at the time as a great victory for those branches of English manufacture in which the new inventions had been adopted.

But while force of circumstance was rapidly transforming the new manufacturers into champions of economic liberalism, they seem to have been uninterested in political liberalism. Unlike their successors of the nineteenth century they were indifferent to parliamentary reform. Complaints that the new industrial centers were not represented in parliament did not come from the manufacturers, who apparently prided themselves upon their lack of interest in political questions. Like the townsmen of the Middle Ages they wished to be let alone to pursue their economic activities. They did not hesitate, however, to bring pressure to bear upon the government when their personal interests were involved, and the General Chamber of Manufacturers of Great Britain, organized in 1785, the precursor of a host of similar associations in later times, was able to exert decisive influence on parliament and the ministry in matters of taxation and commercial policy.

In a very informing chapter on the workers in the new industries Mr. Bowden addresses himself to the problem of explaining why the introduction of machinery, which led to such an enormous increase in the production of commodities, did not produce a marked and permanent improvement in the status of the laboring population, why the prospect of social betterment for the masses which the new inventions opened up was not realized. He rejects the theory that the wretchedness of the new industrial proletariat was caused by unemployment resulting from a displacement of labor by labor-saving machines, and shows that contemporary observers were in agreement that the spread of machinery led to an actual increase of employment. They agreed, also, that the economic condition of the new laborers, in the early period of industrialism, was superior to that of older groups of workers; for example, there was less pauperism in the new industrial towns than in the rural parishes. Mr. Bowden's examination of conditions on the farms and in the older industries, from which the new proletariat was recruited, shatters completely the romantic conception of a merry England on the eve of the Industrial Revolution, tenanted by sturdy, self-respecting peasants and independent craftsmen inspired by the instinct of workmanship. Conditions on the farms, as to wages, housing conditions, continuity of employment, and hygiene, were bad in the extreme, and in the old "domestic system" of manufacturing wages were being forced down below the level of subsistence.

The tragedy of the Industrial Revolution, as Mr. Bowden sees it, was lack of social control for the common welfare. The government was dominated by aristocratic conceptions of labor and, while adopting a policy of laissez-faire for the employing and propertied classes, placed new restraints upon the workers. The "public," in the language of the day, did not include the masses, and a fecund and poverty-stricken working class was supposed to be the necessary basis of "national" prosperity. For this traditional, aristocratic attitude toward labor, as Mr. Bowden points out, the landlords were more responsible than the new "lords" of industry. Under such circumstances the industrial workers could not look to government for protection, and it is the author's opinion that they failed to work out their own salvation because they came from sources that were polluted and suffered from the "blight of inferiority."

ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER

Vagabonds

Dark Laughter. By Sherwood Anderson. Boni and Liveright. $2.50.

WHEN one thinks of the contemporary commentators upon the American scene the names of Messrs. Sinclair Lewis and Sherwood Anderson come naturally to mind, and yet it is a curious fact that though these names are so frequently linked the men themselves belong to the two different classes into which all societies are divided. The mass of any population is composed of those whose nature it is to play, as it were, the game. They clear the forests when forests are to be cleared, they build the industries when industries are to be built, they catch the rhythm of the step when their comrades march away to war; and in whatever world they happen to be they definitely, in the words of the Hairy Ape, "belong." Mr. Lewis, by virtue of his peculiarly American vigor, of his zeal, and of his positive, confident determination, is a member, in so far as any artist can be, of this group; for satirist though he be his participation in the life of his time is active and enthusiastic. But there is another class, composed, like every class of big men and little men alike, of those who are the vagabonds of body or of mind. The spirit of their own or of any age seems never to grip them; they do not understand the value set by their fellows upon the prizes for which the races are run; and in the midst of the bustle they stand wondering by. When one of them charms us we call him a dreamer and when one, vaguely ineffectual in the performance of some task

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we have set him, moves our anger we call him shiftless; but we know the class to which they all belong—they are the moonstruck ones who seem never able to share the unquestioning faith in the worth of this or that which keeps the others so intent on their pursuit of wealth, of fame, of respectability, and of comfort. The most articulate and the most self-conscious of the class write the dreamy poems, essays, and novels which fascinate without ever deeply entering into readers in whom the will is more dominant; but even in the midst of the busy American civilization one may see the lower ranks of the order who have calmly detached themselves from the hurly-burly and are sitting, perhaps, by the banks of some stream into whose waters they are contentedly dangling lines never yet bitten by fish.

That Mr. Anderson's father was such a one Mr. Anderson revealed by the delightful picture which he drew in "A Story Teller's Story," and that he is himself his father's son grown sophisticated and self-conscious his own novels confess. The old man who could always find some excuse to leave his family behind and wander about the country fascinating the inhabitants of lonely farms by the resplendent and lying tales which he could so readily imagine is the true begetter of the novelist Anderson, for he too, when he lets his fancy wander, can form the most delightful of day dreams. But partly because he happens to have been born in an age but little inclined to yield to the charm of fancy and partly because he has become too sophisticated naively to indulge the day-dreaming faculty, he holds himself in check and describes rather the deeds and the souls of those who, like himself, belong to that moonstruck class whose members find themselves temperamentally alien to the orderly and busy world in which they happen to have been born. The hero of "Dark Laughter" is such a one, and though he has a story—the story of how he escaped from the routine life into which he did not fit, how he wandered dreaming here and there in search of he knew not what, and how finally, with fitting irony, he stole the wife of a respectable though unexciting manufacturer while the latter was taking part in an Armistice Day parade—this story has actually neither beginning nor end, and the charm of the book lies in the author's evocation of the vagabond mood.

Anderson is not a deep thinker, and it is one of the absurd results of the conventional thought-pattern of our age that he is taken seriously as a critic of society; but he is, nevertheless, a poet who feels things deeply in his own particular way. His characters live chiefly by virtue of that part of them which is himself; certainly his two most vivid personages in the present book—the hero himself and that middle-aged fellow-workman of his who is accustomed from time to time to slip away for a night with his wife and a bottle of whiskey, ostensibly to fish, but really to lie in the moonlight by the river and feel himself as free as an animal from the thoughts and responsibilities of man—are vivid because of the extent to which their mood is his own; and he is best of all when he is communicating to the reader by delicate exposition, by vivid picture, or in Whitmanesque prose-poems that soft, vague reverie, too little definite to be called thought, which all have known in some moment of summer idleness but which is the natural mood of those who are born like himself to drift gently through life. In many a passage of "Dark Laughter," especially in those which describe the life along the river, he has caught it with a nearly flawless art, and realizing that it is an attitude to be felt rather than a philosophy to be intellectually defended or understood he has wisely refrained from argument and left it to be symbolized by that mellow, careless laughter with which the Negroes, the perfect vagabonds, greet the situations over which those of another race puzzle their heads and search their hearts. There are some who choose to breast a current, but there are others who find it sweeter to drift dreaming downstream.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Why Social Conflict?

Races, Nations, and Classes. By Herbert Adolphus Miller. J. B. Lippincott and Company. $2.

IN an admirably concise yet astutely tentative introduction Mr. Miller rests a thesis. Emotionally, modern man is still pretty much at the Cro-Magnon level. The *élan* in our *élan vital* is mostly the coeval savage ancestor within us, who with cunning ferocity resents the constant pressure of a social and economic culture which demands his civilization. Hence the abyss that frightens the Great Society into the nervous disease which it now is. This fright shows itself in numberless rationalizations: an irrelevant religious "modernism," which would "reconcile" science and religion; "social engineering" schemes, which do not touch the sore spots of competitive production; jesuitical panaceas such as Fascism, the Klan, "Americanization." These "anxiety neuroses" show themselves, according to Mr. Miller, in "superstitions" which explain fear in terms of bigotry and in "pseudo-science," a more sophisticated form of superstition in which the half-educated take out their maladjustment, sneaking in under the modern prestige of science and imputing to it a melioristic magic which it neither does nor should possess.

In his outlook and terminology Mr. Miller quite clearly accepts the psychoanalytic approach to social problems. This, of course, is not novel. His novelty lies in his effort to develop his position persuasively rather than strictly, thus guarding it against pedantic controversy. Nowhere is he officiously "scientific." Nowhere does he make the "social discovery" that social antagonisms would disappear of themselves under technical "community organization." He knows the epistemology of bona fide science too well to fall for this meretricious neo-Spencerian uplift. He knows that sociology must never contradict science, which is all that science demands of social philosophy. Accordingly he prefers to sift his vast sociological experience not on the basis of true-or-false but on the far more relevant basis of wise-or-foolish. And Mr. Miller's mind is a very shrewd sieve, which makes these 191 compact little pages deliciously quotable at random.

Our instinctive life, in its ambivalence, tends to struggle as well as to cooperate. Modern psychology does not claim that conflict can be completely "sublimated" into collaboration —which is the romantic fallacy of the professional brokers of social conflict in church, college, and philanthropy. But Mr. Miller does feel that society must learn to struggle about present realities and not about emotional fixations carried over from geological antiquity. Today the great social conflicts are almost altogether atavistic. Look at the agenda of the League of Nations: To what degree is it permissible for Great Britain to poison China with Indian opium? What is the least offensive method of fleecing the German workers for Germany's sole "guilt"? Is the "mandate" the most humane technique of imperial brigandage? To compromise with these savageries is but to "suppress" them still deeper into the unconscious of social forces. They must be faced and fought. And Mr. Miller proceeds to do so in one of the most mercilessly searching and objective analyses which such conflicts have yet received in contemporary social psychology.

He divides these conflicts into two major groups. Race (a convenient anthropological hypothesis), religion (a relic of primitive man's fear of reality, as troublesome as the vermiform appendix), and nationality (a useful geo-cultural conception) form the three "vertical" groups of conflict. Class and caste are the "horizontal" groups. Then he proceeds to illustrate the cross-collisions of these conflict groups. He takes the reader through the Dr. Caligari asylum of Central Europe. He diagnoses the psychosis of anti-Semitism. He analyzes the

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"white man's burden" of colorphobia. He shows the maniacal variety of patriotism as distinct from the natural affection for one's own culture group. And every time he bares the effects of these "oppression psychoses" on the oppressors, who rationalize their tyranny into "superiority," and on the oppressed, whose psychiatry shows all the symptoms of the inferiority complex.

This is by far the best job in the very creditable Lippincott series of sociology. The only thing that mars it is Professor Hayes's "editorial introduction." Professor Hayes bitterly hates the Russian revolution, whose "pathological character . . . has [been] demonstrated." After this "Ceterum censeo Russiam esse delendam" he recommends this book, though it expressly blames all revolution on reaction. Mr. Miller "makes an important contribution," according to his editor, "toward the comprehension" that "social interaction, the causal efficiency of human relationship, is the predominant factor in securing both order and progress." Whether Mr. Miller does so or not this reviewer is unable to tell, for he finds Professor Hayes's English incomprehensible. But if the latter had read the typescript of the book carefully he might have learned that Mr. Miller "made an important contribution toward the comprehension" of academic cuttlefish who emit an inkburst of verbiage whenever they are frightened by social forces beyond their understanding. BENJAMIN STOLBERG

Books in Brief

Words and Idioms. By Logan Pearsall Smith. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.

Under this title Mr. Smith has collected five pleasant, scholarly essays that dilute for the general reader some of the vast materials stored in the "New English Dictionary" and the other great lexicons. English Sea Terms discusses the varied sources from which the technical vocabulary of the English seaman has been drawn; The English Element in Foreign Languages traces some of the words that, taken over bodily or translated more or less literally, have got into other languages, particularly into German and French. Four Romantic Words follows the picaresque career of four critical terms—*romantic*, *originality*, *creative*, and *genius*—from the mid-seventeenth to the early nineteenth century. There are also a somewhat vapid essay on dialect and standard speech and a rich and suggestive collection, filling nearly half the book, of English idioms and figurative expressions.

The Tragic Life of Vincent Van Gogh. By Louis Piérard. Translated by Herbert Garland. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.50.

After Meier-Graefe's incomparable life of Van Gogh, which gives the very body and pressure of the painter's genius, any biography of the man seems presumptuous. Measured against the German volumes, the English version of which is in itself a high accomplishment, Mr. Piérard's book is a halt and stammering affair. But for those of us who cannot afford Meier-Graefe, this succinct account of Van Gogh's tragic history must serve. The author was apparently at pains to make contacts with those who remembered Van Gogh, and visited with eager piety the various odd corners of Europe which were the stations of the painter's cross. The fact that the mining center of Le Borinage, where Van Gogh preached during 1878 and 1879, is M. Piérard's native place, considerably helped this biographer in the reconstruction of that period. Nevertheless his work wants that burning glow, that sullen intensity which must always associate themselves with Van Gogh's name. The awkwardness of the translation is not a little responsible for the lack one feels here. The twenty-four reproductions of the painter's work go a good way toward redeeming the book.

Letters on the American Revolution, 1774-1776. Edited by Margaret Wheeler Willard. Houghton Mifflin Company. $7.50. *Letters from America, 1776-1779. Being Letters of Brunswick, Hessian, and Waldeck Officers with the British Armies During the Revolution.* Translated by Ray W. Pettengill. Houghton Mifflin Company. $7.50.

It was a happy thought of Mrs. Willard's to make a selection of letters written from America and published in the British newspapers between 1774 and 1776. Moore's "Diary of the Revolution" (1865) was an early attempt to use like material and is still useful; but Mrs. Willard's collection is not only useful but readable, and it is well edited. The writers add little to our knowledge of the difference with the mother country and the military operations; they do bring into prominence personal features and give a natural expression of individual convictions. Many of the letters are from merchants or factors visiting the colonies for a special purpose, and they reflect impressions rather than convictions. The messages from besieged Boston and New York under the threat of occupation are good history. Only one letter is signed—that of the Bradfords, printers—and the reader is often piqued to realize how successful has been the caution to conceal the writers, whether in army, navy, or civil life. Reputations for sanity in a time of madness could be made if only some clue to the writers were given. The second work has less novelty, for the Hessian letters have already been translated, though imperfectly, from Schlözer's "Briefwechsel." Mr. Pettengill gives a smoother and better rendering. The more interesting letters are those on the Burgoyne expedition written by one who was intelligent and observant. He gives an excellent account of the conditions encountered in Canada and of the march to the final catastrophe.

Social Struggles and Socialist Forerunners. By M. Beer. Small, Maynard and Company. $2.

It is an adage that the "social problem" is never solved. This third volume in a well-known author's comprehensive history of socialism and social struggles not only illustrates the adage but raises in the reader's mind the query whether socialism itself will not shortly appear as another phase of that endless class conflict which he here traces through peasant revolts, religious upheavals, political revolutions, and economic crises with their attendant utopian dreams from the end of the Middle Ages to the early nineteenth century.

The Greatest Book in the World and Other Papers. By A. Edward Newton. Little, Brown and Company. $5.

Another miscellany by the man who has made book-collecting in America almost a parlor game. The papers are best which stick most closely to the subjects of bibliography and collecting.

The Nation's Poetry Prize

THE NATION offers an annual poetry prize of $100 for the best poem submitted by an American poet in a contest conducted by *The Nation* each year between Thanksgiving and New Year's Day. The rules for the contest in 1925 are as follows:

1. Each manuscript submitted in the contest must reach the office of *The Nation*, 20 Vesey Street, New York City, not earlier than Tuesday, December 1, and not later than Thursday, December 31, plainly marked on the outside of the envelope "For *The Nation's* Poetry Prize."

2. Manuscripts must be typewritten and must have the name of the author in full on each page of the manuscript submitted.

3. As no manuscripts submitted in this contest will in any circumstances be returned to the author it is unnecessary to

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inclose return postage. An acknowledgment of the receipt of each manuscript, however, will be sent from this office.

4. No more than three poems from the same author will be admitted to the contest.

5. No restriction is placed upon the subject or form of poems submitted, which may be in any meter or in free verse. It will be impossible, however, to consider poems which are more than 400 lines in length or which are translations or which are in any language other than English. Poems arranged in a definite sequence may, if the author so desires, be counted as a single poem.

6. The winning poem will be published in the Midwinter Literary Supplement of *The Nation*, to appear February 10, 1926.

7. Besides the winning poem, *The Nation* reserves the right to purchase at its usual rates any other poem submitted in the contest.

The judges of the contest are the editors of *The Nation*. Poems should in no case be sent to them personally.

Art

Dorothea Dreier

THE reception given the current exhibition of paintings by the late Dorothea Dreier at the Worcester Art Museum recalls the approbation accorded these paintings when they were displayed last year at the Brooklyn Museum and when the press and the public were so generous in their praise of a gifted American painter who during her lifetime was so engrossed in her art and so modest concerning her achievements as to shun general admiration. It was not until nearly two years after her death that her sister, Miss Katherine Dreier, decided to bring this work to public notice. Criticism has proved that she was right in her judgment; the collection will go from Worcester to various cities throughout the country.

The fact that Dorothea Dreier had tired of the academic and sought to record her subjects in the broader, more emotional manner long before modernism became known as such showed her independence of thought, her originality and alertness of mind. Her selflessness in portraying her subjects and her disinclination to exploit her talents in the every-day manner brought rare results in structural design and helped her to achieve the spiritual aspect of beauty as she saw it. She was versatile in her choice of themes and painted in various places—in Holland, Switzerland, New York, the Adirondacks, the White Mountains, and at Riverdale, New York, catching the spirit of each with sympathy and understanding.

Her experiences were wide, and devoting almost her entire life to art, working out problems with a mind that was as intellectual as it was artistic, she gained headway beyond that of the average painter. As early as 1908, when most painters were following the then popular schools of purely intellectual trend and at broadest were succumbing to impressionism, Dorothea Dreier was abandoning prescribed rules for the breadth of vision which was leading her toward the modernist movement. Yet in the true sense of the word she was not a modernist, but rather, as Louis Lozowick says, "a link between the older romantic lyrical period now disintegrating—as shown in her landscapes—and the newer, neo-realist, epic period still in the process of formation—made evident in her cityscapes." It was as though she thought mainly of the creative importance of a subject and executed it in the manner best suited to her temperament regardless of schools or teachings.

Dorothea Dreier was born in Brooklyn in 1870 and died in 1923. Her first instructors were William M. Chase, John R. Twachtman, and Walter Shirlaw, and it was the last named whom she came to recognize as her master. Yet there is no reflection of any of these teachers in her work, since, following the advice of Shirlaw who soon recognized her individuality, she steadfastly adhered to her personal manner. When later she traveled abroad with a view to settling in the country which most strongly appealed to her sympathies it was Holland that she finally selected, and at Laren she painted many of her best pictures. Born to wealth and luxury, she nevertheless devoted her talents to recording the humble Dutch workers. Their hardy physiques, their strenuous occupations, and the simplicity of their lives would quite naturally appeal to one as free from the sentimentalities that govern the average woman as she was. Everything she painted in Holland reflects the enthusiasm with which she undertook her studies of these workers. She depicted them at their tasks with a realism not untinged with poetry, and she made no attempt to present them, as so many American painters have done, amid beautiful flowers and in glowing sunlight—looking clean and contented. She showed them at their looms, suggesting subtly the dust and lint that enveloped them; their faces betray the lines of toil and the expression of grim resignation so characteristic of them. Yet in their strength and truth these paintings, beautiful as they are in color and design, have a beauty of their own that will doubtless leave a mark on modern painting.

In 1920 she returned to this country. While in New York she found subjects very different indeed from the homely scenes she had grown accustomed to, she concentrated with the same intensity as before upon a series of city themes, and in these she shows a still greater advance. Tall buildings completed in broken lines against the sky and others yet in course of construction excited her imagination, and she completed a series that excels all others in recording the topsy-turviness of New York and in suggesting the vitality within. It was from her window in the Hotel Seville that she painted these canvases, and here she also saw the Little Church Around the Corner nestling contentedly between tall sky-scrapers; in the ensemble of this picture she achieved an artistic completion beautiful in color and excellent in pattern.

The last series of her life is composed of a collection of landscapes painted at Riverdale. While these works carry the note of her Adirondack and White Mountain subjects they evidence even more structural force, and although different in mood from many of her other works they yet convey a message of profound sentiment and a sense of humility before the grandeurs of nature that in reality is always the strength of a great artist. She painted much in oil, yet her water colors, done on a broad scale, are practically without rival. Large mountain scenes in varied seasons were done in this medium apparently with the greatest ease. Her pastels are equally fine.

LULA MERRICK

Drama

The Glass of Fashion

"HAMLET IN MODERN DRESS" (Booth Theater) is, in the first place, all that the subtitle promises. Basil Sydney, who plays Hamlet, does wear a conventional lounge suit of somber hue; Ernest Lawford, a most excellent Polonius, does hold a monocle in his critical eye; and Adrienne Morrison, a very human queen, does wear a frock more suggestive of Paris than of Elsinore. Moreover the difficulties which might seem to be involved are boldly grasped, for Hamlet is made to smoke a cigarette while he meditates upon those dreams which may trouble the sleep of death, and he kills the rat behind the arras not with a rapier but with a pistol. But though none of these things seems offensively odd—one comes indeed almost immediately to accept them—the real secret of the unexpected impressiveness of the whole performance lies less in the modern clothes which the characters wear than in the modern manners which they affect. Had the play been given by actors trained exclusively in the traditions of Shake-

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spearean acting the result, I suspect, would have been not a little absurd, but the players in the present production suit the action to the dress. Their gestures, their intonation, and their general conduct are that of contemporaries; they speak their lines, many of them as though they were prose, with the accent and the emphasis which we, in actual conversation, would give them; and the result is to modernize "Hamlet" in the very best sense, by bringing it more closely home.

Only once during the course of the performance did anything occur to give me pause. When Hamlet stood over the kneeling figure of his uncle and said,

> He took my father grossly, full of bread,
> With all his crimes broad blown, and flush as May;
> . . . and am I then revenged,
> To take him in the purging of his soul,
> When he is fit and season'd for his passage?

I was struck more strongly, perhaps, than I should have been at a more conventionally conducted performance by the outmoded thought, for I could not but say to myself: "Philosophers modern enough to hold pistols in their hands do not concern themselves with such antiquated theology." Yet the fault is actually a fault of the play, not of the production, for "Hamlet" like all masterpieces of the really distant past has passages whose feeling is inevitably too remote to be fully comprehended. Something, too, is undoubtedly lost in the substitution of the rhythm of the thought for the rhythm of the verse in the reading of the lines; but there is also much that is gained. Some of the music, the greatest surely in all literature, is lost, but thanks to the very skilful direction the players slide gradually into poetry at those moments of heightened emotion when poetry seems most natural, and in the more level passages the positive gain in effective intelligibility is demonstrated by the behavior of the audience—which obviously appreciates points commonly missed in more conventional performances.

The real lesson of this experiment, on the whole one of the most interesting ever made, includes implications far wider in scope than any which would apply merely to the production of Shakespeare's plays, for it demonstrates clearly the fact that there is no reason why new plays, completely modern in scene, theme, and feeling, should not, in cases where their intensity would seem to justify it, be written in language which makes no pretense to imitation of current speech but takes on the elaboration and the dignity of poetry. Nobly artificial diction is not, so this production proves, incompatible with trousers or even with spats. If the time comes—and the present tendency to experiment with expressionism and other non-representative types of drama indicates that it will come—when we cease to be content with mere naturalism it will not be necessary to confine ourselves to the treatment of legendary or symbolic material; for poetic plays, differing from the present-day realistic drama only in the greatness of their language, are undoubtedly possible.

"In a Garden" (Plymouth Theater) is an ambitiously fanciful play which deals with the story of the wife of a playwright who finally felt herself constrained to leave him because his analytical mind and his inveterate habit of playing everything as a scene crushed all the joyous spontaneity of life. It is, I think, only moderately successful because it is itself more full of ingenuity than of vitality. The heroine insists that life should be natural, the hero that it should be high comedy; but the play, unfortunately, is not quite either, for it is too artificial to be the one and a little too solemn to be the other. Nor do I think that the monotonously continuous emotional tremulo adopted by Miss Laurette Taylor in the leading role is either suitable or, in itself, particularly agreeable.

"Solid Ivory" (Central Theater) is a slangy play of baseball and neither very subtle nor very original.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

THEATER

LAST WEEK
Eves. (Except Mon.) 8:30. Mat. Sat. 2:30
THE GRAND ST. FOLLIES of 1925
including
"Hamlet, the Well-Dressed Dane"
Orchestra, $2; Balcony, $1.50
Early in December, "The Dybbuk" by Ansky
THE NEIGHBORHOOD PLAYHOUSE 466 Grand St.
Tel. Dry Dock 7516

MOROSCO THEATER, West 45th Street. Evenings, 8:30. Matinees Wednesdays and Saturdays, 2:30.
THE DRAMATIC SENSATION
CRAIG'S WIFE
By GEORGE KELLY
with CHRYSTAL HERNE

THE ACTORS' THEATRE announces Ludwig Thoma's bold comedy classic, "MORALS," adapted by Charles Recht, acting version suggestions by Sidney Howard. Premiere November 30th at Comedy Theatre. Seats Thurs. Mail orders now.

LECTURES

CARL SANDBURG
will lecture on
Romanticism and Realism in Modern Poetry
Thursday, December 3rd, at 8:30 P. M.
at the RAND SCHOOL, 7 East 15th Street
Stuyvesant 3094 Tickets 50c to $1.

Eminent American Writers
in a course of lectures on modern literature at
THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
465 West 23d Street, New York City
Louis Untermeyer Nov. 28
Laurence Stallings Dec. 5
Carl Van Doren Dec. 12
Zona Gale (Date to be announced)
Saturdays at 8:20 Admission $1.50

RADICAL SOCIAL THEORIES A COURSE OF SIX LECTURES
By WILLIAM PEPPERELL MONTAGUE, Ph.D.
Professor of Philosophy in Columbia University
In the COMMUNITY CHURCH AUDITORIUM, Park Ave. and 34th St
On Thursday evenings Dec. 3, 10, Jan. 7, 14, 21, 28, at 8:15 P. M.
Course tickets, $3.50, can be secured in advance at the Office of the Community Church, 12 Park Avenue. Single admission, 75 cents.

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE—Program December 4 to 10
AT COOPER UNION
(8th Street and Astor Place)
At 8 o'Clock ADMISSION FREE
Friday, Dec. 4.....Everett Dean Martin
"Is There Any Such Thing as 'Class Education'?"
Sunday, Dec. 6.....Dr. E. G. Spaulding
"Fact and Symbol, Fictions and Realities in Science and Philosophy"
Tuesday, Dec. 8.....Prof. Alfred Zimmern
"Internationalism and Education"
AT MANHATTAN TRADE SCHOOL
(Lexington Avenue and 22nd Street)
At 8 o'Clock Single Admission Twenty-five Cents
Reduction for Course Tickets
Saturday, Dec. 5.....Dr. W. L. Westermann
"The Iconoclast Struggle and the Break with the Roman See"
Monday, Dec. 7.....Dr. E. G. Spaulding
"How This Logic Was Used in the Middle Ages and in Modern Philosophy; The Church, Descartes, Kant"
Wednesday, Dec. 9.....Prof. John Mantle Clapp
"Argument: Presenting a Case"
Thursday, Dec. 10.....Dr. Wolfgang Koehler
"Human Perception—The Problem of Form"

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International Relations Section

Chinese Customs

By PING-TSANG CHEN

I

CHINA'S loss of her complete freedom to levy and fix her customs duties within her own territory dates from 1843. Prior to that year, the customs rate was determined by the Chinese Imperial Government and collected by its customs officials at Canton. The amount of duties levied on imports and exports varied according to the nature of the goods and was subject to alteration from year to year. Partly as a complaint against the corrupt practice and inefficiency of the Chinese customs officials and partly as a reprisal for the prohibition of the opium trade by the Chinese Government, Great Britain declared war on China in 1840. Under the pressure of force, China was driven to accept a customs rate based upon a uniform 5 per cent ad valorem, both for imports and exports, as part of the Nanking Treaty ratified at Hongkong on June 20, 1843, which thus marked the beginning of the history of China's present tariff system. In return for this concession China received nothing from Great Britain. The absence of reciprocity in the treaty arrangement shows clearly that this provision was simply a kind of war settlement.

The matter was made worse by the fact that Great Britain's insistence upon this one-sided arrangement made it inevitable to grant the same concession to other Powers. For immediately upon the heels of Great Britain, other Powers stepped in and made China include a "most-favored-nation" clause in their treaties with her. Consequently, the uniform 5 per cent tariff was applied to American and French goods in 1844 and gradually to goods from other countries, so that at present practically all states which have commercial treaties with China have obtained this privilege from her. Thus, through her defeat in the iniquitous Opium War China was compelled to surrender her tariff autonomy to Great Britain, and in order to maintain impartiality toward other nations she has been forced to increase the bond and shackle imposed upon her by the first arrangement.

Serious as is the restriction of this one-sided treaty obligation on China's sovereign right of fixing her maritime customs rates, the field of disability does not stop there; it extends further to internal customs in the form of "transit dues." By Article X of the Nanking Treaty, China was also obliged to exempt British goods from all internal dues en route when British subjects have once paid a light duty of 2½ per cent on them in addition to the import or export duty, as the case might be, at the spot where such goods were ready to move for a definite destination within Chinese territories. Thus not only was China deprived of her right to fix the tariff for foreign trade, but even her sovereign right regarding internal taxation was to a considerable extent curtailed by the British policy of coercion. In subsequent treaties between 1843 and 1875, China was made to extend the obligation to other Powers. That this arrangement is preferential in nature and unjust in effect is obvious from the fact that special privileges and immunities were given to foreign merchants but denied to Chinese. In practice, native traders have to pay dues called "likin" for their merchandise when it passes from one customs district to another in the country, whereas foreign traders may convey their merchandise to any province or city within Chinese territory and have to pay only a slight "transit due" of 2½ per cent ad valorem. In other words, by treaty the Chinese authorities are compelled to penalize native in comparison with foreign traders, since the likin payable by the former is invariably higher than the "transit due" paid by the latter.

Nor is this all. The restriction on China in the fixing of tariff rates is applied not only to maritime customs but also to the frontier customs on land. Following the example of other Powers, Russia which had had a regular commerce by land with China, extracted for the first time from her a scheduled tariff embodied in the commercial treaty of 1862. The peculiar point of the privilege granted to Russia is that the customs rate for Russian trade was reduced to two-thirds of the general tariff, i. e. to about 3 1/3 per cent ad valorem. By a later treaty it was agreed that while this was a special arrangement between China and Russia, not only Russian but all foreign merchandise shipped to China over the Chinese Eastern Railway should enjoy the same treatment. This special land frontier system, first instituted in favor of Russia, was toward the end of the nineteenth century extended to France and England in their colonial possessions in the southwestern border of China and finally to Japan after the annexation of Korea by the latter country. The French, by trade agreements with China in 1887 and 1895, and the British, by the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1894, induced the Chinese Government to reduce land frontier duty to seven-tenths and six-tenths of the maritime customs rate for their imports and exports respectively, when they pass by land from or to Indo-China. Finally, after the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, Japan also made "a special arrangement with China whereby she secured a reduction in customs dues on goods imported into Manchuria from or through Korea and exported from Manchuria to or through Korea by rail via Antung. On dutiable goods leaving Manchuria by rail for places beyond that point, only a two-thirds customs rate is charged. The 'transit dues' on these goods are one-half of the customs charges, that is, one-half of the two-thirds normal rate. Goods from Manchuria for local consumption in Hsin Wiji or which within two years are carried by rail beyond that point pay the full rate but obtain a rebate of one-third." In a word, the land frontier customs became not only also fixed by treaty but fixed at a still lower rate than 5 per cent.

While China first lost her right of fixing customs rates through war, she lost her right of controlling the customs administration during peace. The history of the present customs administration has been admirably summarized by Senator Oscar Underwood as follows:

> The beginning of the foreign administrative supervision of the Chinese maritime customs dates back to the time of the Taiping Rebellion, when in September, 1853, the city of Shanghai was captured by the Taiping rebels. As a consequence the Chinese customs was closed and foreign merchants had no offices to collect customs duties.
>
> In order to meet the emergency, the foreign consuls collected the duties until June, 1854, when an agreement was entered into with the British, American, and French consuls for the establishment of a foreign board of inspectors. Under this agreement a board of foreign inspectors was appointed, and continued in office until 1858, when the tariff commission . . . met and agreed to rules of trade, of which Article X provided that a high officer should be appointed by the Chinese Government to superintend the foreign trade, and that this officer might select any British subject whom he might see fit to aid him in the administration of the customs revenue, and in a number of other matters connected with commerce and navigation. In 1914, just as the Great War was breaking, there were 1,357 foreigners in the Chinese customs service representing 20 nationalities among a total of 7,441 employees.

According to the Agreement of 1906 the Inspector General of the Chinese customs is always a British subject as long as British trade exceeds that of any other state. This official directs the customs house in all treaty ports and also appoints the personnel. The Chief Commissioner of the Customs House in each treaty port is also usually a foreigner. It may be

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remarked, in passing, that on the whole the present system of customs administration is considered efficient and satisfactory. At the Washington Conference, the Chinese Government, speaking through its delegate, Dr. Koo, voluntarily declared that it had "no intention to effect any change which may disturb the present administration of the Chinese maritime customs."

Such a declaration, however, as Dr. Koo pointed out, "could not be reasonably construed to preclude China's legitimate aspirations gradually to make this important branch of the Chinese Government more national in character." For, though the present system of administration has been in existence for some sixty years, very few Chinese have been trained by that service. For instance, out of the forty-seven commissioners of customs, distributed among the treaty ports, there is not a single post at present occupied by a Chinese. The fact is that practically all of the important offices are monopolized by foreigners. As a result, there is a general feeling among the Chinese people that more Chinese should be trained to assume the functions of the more responsible posts in the service. However, the policy of the Chinese Government has been for decades not to interfere with the present system of administration. And at the conference now being held at Peking, the Chinese Delegation does not propose to depart from this policy.

II

The injustice of the treaty restrictions on China, however, cannot be fully appreciated unless the fact is remembered that since 1843, during a period of over three-quarters of a century, only four revisions have been made of the conventional tariff, including one which was requested by the Treaty Powers in order to promote their own commercial interests.

The first revision took place in 1858. Toward that year, prices began to drop, and the 5 per cent customs duties collected appeared consequently to be in excess of the 5 per cent prescribed. To protect their own commercial interests, the Treaty Powers asked for a revision of the tariff. This was effected in 1858 by the Treaty of Tientsin. From that time until 1902, however, as prices mounted and the Chinese Government had been receiving less than the 5 per cent rate, no request was made on the part of the Treaty Powers for a revision. If the Chinese Government did not at that time press for a revision, it must be because the needs of the Government were then comparatively few and the revenues collected, small as they were, were adequate to meet its needs.

It was not until 1902 that another revision was made. In that year, China's financial condition was rendered still more deplorable by the Boxer troubles. She was forced to pay the largest indemnity ever exacted up to that time. But at the moment she had a considerable deficit in her budget, due largely to the allocation of about a quarter of the existing revenues to the liquidation of debts already incurred, and it was hardly possible for her in her existing state of credit to pay off the indemnity of over sixty millions in a lump sum. In order to enable the Chinese Government to meet the newly imposed obligations arising out of the protocol of 1901 without involving her in immediate bankruptcy, therefore, the Powers resorted to the revision of her customs tariff. Some of the Powers, notably Russia and Germany, were willing to raise the customs duty to 10 per cent effective; but to this the British strongly objected, owing to the preponderance of their trade in China. Finally, the customs duty was raised to an effective 5 per cent, while the balance of the customs was pledged as security of the indemnity accepted.

The revision, however, could not be expected to yield satisfactory results. In the first place, it was restricted by the treaty to the alteration of the tariff only so far as to bring it up and down, as the case might be, to a 5 per cent level. Furthermore, the new schedule was based on the average prices of 1897-1899 and not on the actually prevailing prices which were higher, with the result that, as prices continued to

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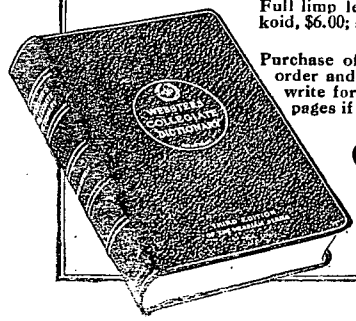

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rise rapidly, the actual duty collected soon fell to only 2½ per cent as compared with the market value of the imports. Finally, the revision applied only to imports and to the "duty free list"; no revision was made for the export tariff. As a consequence, the revenues collected according to the new tariff were far below what China was entitled to receive and were hardly sufficient to meet the obligations of the indemnity.

In 1912, as the Commercial Treaty (1902) between China and Great Britain provides for a further revision of the import tariff after ten years, and in view of the general rise in values of various kinds of merchandise, the Chinese Government made an attempt to effect a revision of the tariff. It proved to be a failure as the unanimous consent of some sixteen or seventeen Treaty Powers could not be secured. After the Chinese Republic received the formal recognition of the Powers in 1913, the Chinese Government again signified its wish to revise the tariff. But the proposal was blocked by Italy, Russia, and Japan, any single one of whom would have been sufficient to upset the general consent given by other Powers. In 1914 the European War broke out, prices soared, and the duty collected by the Chinese customs dropped tremendously. Never was the injustice of the operation of the tariff more conspicuous!

By 1917 the European War had reached a crisis, and the Allied Powers, in order to induce China to join them, consented among other things to the revision of the tariff. Later the Neutral Powers also gave their consent. So, in 1918, after many years of protracted negotiation, the third revision was effected. But then again, the revision was restricted to raising the duty to an effective 5 per cent ad valorem. Besides, it was based on the average prices of 1912-1916, so that the resulting tariff, which continued until 1923, yielded only 3½ per cent in comparison with the prices of commodities actually prevailing. When the Paris Conference was convened after the World War, China saw in it an opportunity to press for an increase of her tariff. But, as is well known, China's request before the conference was simply not considered. Her hope to receive justice from her Allies was blasted.

Despite such disillusionment and disappointment, China renewed her attempt at the Washington Conference in 1921, one of the chief purposes of which was to settle problems relating to China. Again her attempt met with failure. China was allowed only to have her tariff duty brought up to an effective 5 per cent ad valorem; her demand for tariff autonomy was ignored on the ground of her lack of a strong and stable government. In accordance with the Washington Treaty, a commission met in Shanghai in March, 1922; the customs duties were revised on the basis of the Shanghai market values for the preceding six months; and the new tariff went into effect in January, 1923. This was the fourth and the last revision.

III

The arrangements entered into at the Washington Conference are of sufficient importance to deserve more than passing interest.

The Powers having promised, by Article II of the "Root Principles," "to provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government," it was with some degree of confidence that the Chinese Delegation brought forward its first practical suggestion for carrying out this resolution: restoration to China of her tariff autonomy. In its statement to the conference, the Chinese Delegation made it clear that the Chinese Government did not propose to interfere with the existing administration of maritime customs in China nor with the devotion of the funds to the liquidation of foreign loans secured thereon. Two things, however, it did ask for: (1) That "the right to fix and differentiate the tariff rates" be restored to China after the lapse of a certain period of time, in return for which it promised to abolish the likin; and (2) that, pend-

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ing the negotiation for fixing a maximum rate and as an immediate measure of relief, the Chinese import tariff be raised to 12½ per cent effective, a rate mentioned in the Chinese treaties of 1902 and 1903 with Great Britain, the United States, and Japan.

This request was referred to a Sub-committee on Chinese Fiscal Affairs, headed by Senator Oscar Underwood. In the debates of this committee, it was reported that the United States was willing to grant China the 12½ per cent increase in duties at once, that Great Britain would grant 7½ per cent, but that Japan was willing to bring the Chinese tariff up to only 5 per cent effective. Whoever the objecting Powers were, they succeeded in defeating the most important request which China made at the conference. Instead, a compromise plan was reported on January 5, 1922, and later embodied in the Customs Treaty of February 6, 1922. Article I of this treaty provided for the revision of the Chinese tariff in 1922, which has been referred to above. Articles II, III, and VI formed the legal basis of the present Customs Conference at Peking and contained in substance the following provisions:

> Art. II. Within three months after the coming into force of the treaty, a special conference shall meet in China to "take immediate steps . . . to prepare the way" for the abolition of the likin tax and for the fulfilment of other conditions laid down in the treaties of 1902 and 1903 between China and Great Britain, the United States, and Japan, with a view to raising the tariff to 12½ per cent effective in accordance with those treaties.
>
> Art. III. The special conference shall authorize the levying of a surtax prior to the abolition of the likin "as from such date for such purposes, and subject to such conditions as it may determine." "The surtax shall be at a uniform rate of 2½ per cent ad valorem, provided that in case of certain articles of luxury which, in the opinion of the special conference, can bear a greater increase without unduly impeding trade, the total surtax may be increased but not exceed 5 per cent ad valorem."
>
> Art. VI. "The principle of uniformity in the rates of customs duties levied at all the land and maritime frontiers of China is hereby recognized. The special conference . . . shall make arrangements to give practical effect to this principle. . . ."

This Nine-Power Customs Treaty, negotiated four years ago, was not ratified by France until last August, owing to the gold-franc controversy with China, which thus showed one of the many ways by which, because of the vague wording of the treaty, even the permanent increases of the Chinese tariff which it promised might be prevented.

IV

We shall now turn from the historical side of the Chinese tariff question and consider briefly the grounds for China's demand for the recovery of her tariff autonomy.* A little reflection on the existing treaty provisions, by which the levy of customs duties, "transit dues," and other imposts is regulated, will show their injustice and evil consequences to China.

In the first place, the treaty provisions constitute not only a restriction on China's freedom of action but an infringement of her sovereignty. The right to regulate the tariff is a most important right, to guard the integrity of which no nation can be too jealous; not only because it constitutes a part of the power of taxation but also because the tariff rate has the power to alter the direction of the economic development of a country.

Again, the present tariff regime deprives China of her power to make reciprocity arrangements with the Treaty Powers. Though every Power enjoys the privilege of having its wares imported into China at the exceptionally low rate of 5 per cent ad valorem, Chinese produce and merchandise, on

* This article was written before the decision of the Peking Conference yielding unconditionally to the Chinese demands beginning January 1, 1929.

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entering into any of these countries, are subject to the maximum rates leviable, which are in some cases 60 or 70 times the rate which she herself levies on foreign imports. Thus, it was estimated in 1921, Chinese tea imported into the United Kingdom had to pay a 5 per cent duty; Chinese tobacco imported into Japan, 350 per cent; raw silk into Japan, 30 per cent; and manufactured silk into the United States, 35 to 60 per cent.

Nor needs it to be pointed out that such a tariff regime is a serious impediment to China's export trade and economic development. First of all, while most foreign nations are building up tariff walls to protect their industries, China is absolutely unable, through her lack of power of tariff legislation, to adopt any protective tariff to encourage her industries, which are still in an infant stage. Furthermore, the necessity of levying uniform duties on all articles imported into China makes these duties on such articles as machinery and raw materials for Chinese industries a further handicap to China's industrial development.

Another natural consequence of the present tariff arrangement is the great injustice and inequality done to the payers of taxes. Comparing themselves with foreign traders, Chinese merchants feel hurt because they pay much higher dues and duties for the same kind of goods than do the former. And the consumers of native products are liable to higher taxation than consumers of foreign goods, because native goods are subject to the likin and other internal taxes while goods of foreign origin are only slightly taxed.

Again, too much emphasis cannot be laid on the fact that the present tariff regime has caused and is causing a serious loss of revenue to the Chinese Government. Customs duties form one of the most important sources of revenue of a country. But in the case of China, the customs import duty is limited to the very low rate of 5 per cent ad valorem for all classes for dutiable goods, as compared with the average rate of 15 to 60 per cent levied by other countries. But even this rate is only nominal, for the periodical revision provided for by the treaties has never been carried out in due time, and when it has been effected, the basis of valuation adopted is always lower than the actual value at the time. Consequently, as it was estimated in 1921, customs duties constituted only about 7½ per cent of China's total revenue, whereas they gave Great Britain 12 per cent; France, 15 per cent; and the United States, 35 per cent. Moreover, a large part of China's customs revenue is pledged to meet various foreign loans secured thereon and this fact again reduces the amount available for the needs of the Government. At the Washington Conference, China asked for increases amounting to $300,000,000, but what she obtained fell far below that figure. For even if it be assumed that the present conference at Peking could put into effect the levy of the promised surtax of 2½ per cent for ordinary articles and of 5 per cent on certain luxuries, in addition to the 5 per cent effective ad valorem on all dutiable goods, the increase in revenue will be only about $46,000,000. Such an increase will hardly be commensurate with the rapidly growing needs of the Chinese Government, such as those for education, sanitation, road building, and public welfare.

Finally, it may be noted that regulation of China's tariff by treaty must inevitably, in the nature of things, work unjustly to her great detriment. Thus, whenever China makes a proposal, be it for a revision of the tariff to bring it more into harmony with the prevailing prices or for an increase of the customs duty to meet her increased needs, the unanimous consent of more than a dozen Treaty Powers is necessary. As each country naturally desires to protect and promote its own commercial interests in China, all the Treaty Powers seek to avoid the burden of the new revision or increased rate falling upon the industries of their own countries. Under such circumstances the difficulty of effecting any adjustment or arrangements favorable to China can be easily conceived.

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